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THE MODERN PULPIT

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THE MODERN PULPIT

A Study of Homiletic Sources and Characteristics

BY

LEWIS O. BRASTOW, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF PRACTICAL THEOLOGY
YALE UNIVERSITY

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.
1906

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Set up and electrotyped. Published October, 1906.

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TO THE MEMORY OF THREE PREACHERS

AND RELIGIOUS TEACHERS OF THE FIRST RANK

GEORGE WARREN FIELD, GEORGE SHEPHERD

AND

SAMUEL HARRIS

IN AFFECTIONATE AND GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

OF THEIR INSPIRATION AND GUIDANCE

IN THE AUTHOR'S EARLIER

YEARS

PREFACE

The title of this volume will readily suggest its object. It is an attempt to interpret the preaching of our day. It undertakes to get back of it, into its sources, to characterize its distinctive peculiarities and to estimate its value. In "Representative Modern Preachers," published two years ago, the author invited attention to a few prominent preachers of different schools, as concrete exemplifications of the preaching of the last century. The present volume is more fundamental and comprehensive and may be regarded as supplemental. It would look at the preaching of our day in the light of those chief agencies of the modern world that have powerfully affected it. Influences that were active in the last century and in the century preceding, and that have revolutionized it, are analyzed and classified; qualities that are prominent in it, distinctive of it, and common to it, are summarized; and the field of concrete illustration is greatly enlarged.

It is the Protestant pulpit that furnishes the material of our investigation. For it is Protestantism only that in the fullest sense may be said to have, either in theory or in fact, a modern pulpit. The preaching of the Roman Catholic Church is not underestimated, nor its value minimized. It has notable merits of its own and is worthy of careful study. It often reaches a great height of artistic excellence, as well as of moral and spiritual power. But it has no time-spirit. It assumes to be superior to modern life. It would dominate the modern world, not be dominated by it. Of course it must adjust itself to what is temporal, and in much it

is really as modern as the Protestant pulpit. But its claim to be superior to temporary influences is measurably justified, and it shares the fortunes of a church that would be, like its founder, "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever."

The French Protestant pulpit is not included in our investigation. This implies no underestimate of its significance and value. It is due to the author's inadequate acquaintance with its modern aspects.

The difficulties of his task and the inadequacy of its realization are fully recognized by the author. It is a large generalization, and a sense of insufficiency is inevitable both for reader and writer. But in a field hitherto but little worked, one may make a venture even without the assurance of supreme success. Full access at first hand to all the material with which the volume deals cannot, of course, be claimed. But with most of the preachers of the last century and of our own day, to whom reference has been made, he is fairly familiar at first hand.

Many distinguished names that are an honor to the modern pulpit are reluctantly omitted from these pages. Exclusion has been a difficult task. But limitations of personal acquaintance and the limits of the volume must justify it.

Despite the largeness of his venture and the defects of its execution, the writer is not without hope that it may become tributary in some measure to a better knowledge of what lies back of the preaching of our day and to a somewhat more intelligent estimate of its value. With this desire at least he commits his venture to whatever fortunes may await it.

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INTRODUCTION

In the life of the modern church and in the work of its ministry, we note in all Protestant communities a certain general tendency toward unity, and an approximation to a common type in the processes of thought and of practical affairs. This unifying process, which was distinctive in general of the nineteenth century, was especially notable in the latter part of it. The new problems that have come before the Christian church are much the same for all religious denominations, and the tasks of the ministry are strikingly similar. As a result of this unifying tendency denominational peculiarities have been greatly modified. In many cases they have been almost wholly eliminated and ecclesiastical boundary lines well-nigh obliterated. Sectarian idiosyncrasies seem to be giving place to a type of ecclesiastical and clerical character that is approximately common. The denominational minister, advertising his sect by a stereotyped pulpit method, by a diction and dress or by tones of voice and facial expression that are altogether provincial, vanishes in most cosmopolitan communities. The influences that are at work upon the ministry, the problems that are before it, the demands that are urged upon it, are so similar, and consequently its professional training is so nearly alike in most of our Protestant churches, that it is relatively easy for church leaders to pass from one to another denomination, assume new positions, and enter upon new relations without radical readjustments. And all this discloses its results in the most decisive manner in the work of the pulpit. Preaching, in its highest and most effective forms, with all its minor racial,

national, denominational, and individual peculiarities, is often so similar in its cast of thought, its homiletic method, and its literary spirit, that it suggests a common source, and it is not always easy at once to detect the special ecclesiastical sphere of the preacher's education and training. What differentiates the ministers of different communions, or indeed separates the clergy from the laity, is being reduced to a minimum. All this marks a great change in the modern church. Compare, for example, the ecclesiastical symbols of the last half of the nineteenth century with those of previous centuries. Compare especially the homiletic products. Contrast any notable preacher of our day with the preachers of the first quarter of the last century. In reading their products, we find ourselves in a somewhat different homiletic realm. So great are the changes that, when we step back three-quarters of a century, we seem to find ourselves in a somewhat foreign country. In thought, method, diction, there is a suggestion of remoteness. Our interest in the product is largely historical, or professional rather than personal. The preaching of the eighteenth century, or the first part of the nineteenth, cannot interest us as does the preaching of our own day, because it is somewhat remote from us. All this is what we might and should expect. We are dominated by the spirit of modern life. The processes of civilization are always the processes of unification. Barbarism disintegrates. The savage is an anarchist, and the anarchist is a savage. The uncivilized peoples have no time-spirit. Christianity individualizes, but it also unifies. Christendom has a larger community life than any other section of the human race. It has more numerous touching points, better mutual understandings, larger sympathies, closer fellowships; and an ever strengthening unity in an ever increasing complexity is the dominant note of our modern civilization. It is a cosmopolitan age in which a spirit of comprehension is very manifest. Men affect broader and freer ranges of thought and action

and cherish larger and more generous estimates that are grounded in a fuller consciousness of unity of life. We know more about the human race than was ever known before: there is a more comprehensive and a more correct estimate of humanity; there is a better understanding between the peoples of different nationalities; there is less race prejudice among peoples that are civilized, and all recrudescence of race hate is evidential of the dominance of the brute and of a drift back to savagery; there is a disposition to take broader views and to follow more practical methods in the treatment of all-important questions, a better comprehension of different political and ecclesiastical institutions, and of their influence upon the characters and lives of men, a better understanding among the different classes in society, a better appreciation of what is true in different sects and theologies, a better estimate of the practical needs of men in different spheres of associate life, and a tendency towards fuller coöperation in matters of practical administration in all departments of organized activity. This tendency towards unification, the conscious striving for whose realization may almost be called the passion of our time, is the outcome of that larger world-spirit which is the product of great changes in thought and sentiment that have touched every sphere of life, of the wider diffusion of knowledge and fuller development of education, of the democratizing of political and ecclesiastical institutions, of vast developments in industrial life, of increasing facilities of intercourse, or larger fellowships in the commercial relations of men and in their philanthropic enterprises. Collectively and individually men become subject to these dominating tendencies. They come under the influence of currents of thought that have touched the most important interests of humanity, science, philosophy, art, literature, politics, industry, commerce, ethics, and religion. They cherish similar sentiments and follow like general courses of action. This influence, so subtle, largely unconscious,

increasingly pervasive, breathing itself as it were throughout the common life, and which we therefore call the time-spirit or spirit of the age — what wonder that it should disclose itself as elsewhere in the life of the church and in its most characteristic products!

The preaching of any age should be the product, directly or indirectly, and in some large measure, of the forces that are at work under it or in it or about it. What educates the man will condition his preaching. The mark of the culture of his time will remain with every man who is properly educated, and it will disclose itself in his professional product. A complete break between the man and the forces that play upon him is impossible, and if possible would render education impossible. To say that a man bears the mark of his age and is largely its product is simply to say that his culture is normal. A man's theological beliefs are the product of a great variety — greater than appears at the surface — of influences that are constantly at work upon him. Agencies manifold of the most subtle and pervasive sort have wrought in the modification of theologic thought in the most widely divergent circles in our time, and these influences have all been convergent upon the pulpit.

Not only the direct sources of education, but all the objects of men's activity in professional life, affect the pulpit product. No man can preach in entire independence of the changes that have affected political, industrial, commercial, as well as ecclesiastical life. All these changes furnish new objects of homiletic activity, as well as condition the methods by which these objects are to be reached. All the great social polities — family, church, state, and all forms of social organization, — greatly modified and almost revolutionized by the forces of modern life, present new objects of professional interest and action, and in turn become sources of educational influence. The church especially is in many most important aspects a different

institution from what it once was and holds a greatly modified relation to the world at large. The pressure of secular life upon it has conditioned a changed conception of its sanctity and of its mission, and all this has furnished new problems and new themes for the pulpit and has greatly enlarged the scope of its activities and the range of objects with which it deals. And all this illustrates the practical character of the preacher's work. It is his task to reach and influence the people of his time. For this he must be properly educated and trained. The problem of proper pulpit training is precisely the problem of getting the preacher into effective working relations with those about him. Of course the true preacher will grasp what is permanent in Christianity, for in all that is fundamental and distinctive it is like its founder, "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." It is an outstanding, eternal reality and not a subjective age product. No man is a true Christian preacher in the highest and most worthy conception of the term, and no man can be the preacher his age needs, who fails to recognize the continuity of Christian faith. The church would escape theological disintegration and revolution on the one side and theological panic and retrogression on the other side if its teachers and preachers had a firmer grip of historic truth, and were more skilful interpreters of it. And yet the everlasting Gospel is for to-day, and its timeliness is precisely one of the most prominent notes of its everlastingness. Of course, men need breadth of training and culture. No man knows his age who fails to know it in its historic sources, and no man can serve his age worthily who withholds from it the stored treasures of other generations. The modern craze for specialization and for concentration upon a narrow circle of temporary interests is untimely. The timely man is the man who consults the permanent needs and not the transient caprices of his time. And yet the true preacher is by preëminence the man of and for his time, who knows how

to adjust himself to it, and who wins a hearing because he tells men what they need to hear. No man can be a preacher or worthy church leader in any line who trains himself, or permits himself to be trained, into a habitual disregard of the opinions, the sentiments, the tastes, or even the wishes, of those to whom he ministers. Doubtless there is often a chasm between what people really need and what they superficially wish, and the prophet who knows the needs of his age never listens to the clamors of caprice. And yet it is one of the most prominent notes of the prophet that he thoroughly knows his age that he may adjust his message to it. The chasm between need and desire can be bridged, and the timely preacher is the bridge builder. No pontificate is more worthy of him who is called to be the spiritual successor of the apostles than that of him who is charged with the task of bridging the chasm between the permanent needs and the transient desires of the human soul. Every true preacher has the prophetic calling to be an interpreter of eternal truth to his own age. And he is the man who by the timeliness of his message and the skill of his interpretation awakens the sense of some real need, who finds, after much striving it may be, like the prophet of old, but at last, the intelligence and the conviction and the affection of those whom he has awakened, and who succeeds in showing them that his message is what they need to hear, and are half waiting to hear, and long ago would have heard, had they truly interpreted their own deepest necessities as the preacher has interpreted those necessities to them. Such men, of whatever school, even schools the most divergent, who recognize the fundamental needs of the human soul, are the true preachers of every age, however defective may be the form in which the truth of their message may be conceived and presented. But the more closely they are in touch with all that is best in their own time, the more wide reaching and permanent will their influence be.

It is true that preachers are influenced variously in kind and in degree by the forces that are playing about them and upon them. Some anticipate what is yet undeveloped, ahead of their time, living prophetically in the future, interpreters of things that are yet to be. The early part of the last century was prolific of such prophetic souls, whose influence is the inheritance and the glory of our day. Others only follow as interpreters of what has already become a common possession, living in the present and disclosing the practical significance of the truths that have become objects of common acceptance. And some are reactionists, turning their faces towards the past, reviving the memories of other ages, endeavoring to restore the truths of the past in the forms of the past and to defend them by the instruments of the past. But no preacher, however clear his prophetic vision and however far it may allure him into the future, or however firmly rooted he may be in the existing order of thought and however dominating his personal force in the defence of the common places of his school or sect, or however archaic and reactionary he may be, can ever wholly escape; — and well for the world that it is so, — the influences that are at work, however subtly and silently, about him and that are changing the order of life and ushering in the better day that is to be. And it is precisely the preacher's responsiveness, consciously or unconsciously, to these influences that largely conditions the power he exerts over his fellow-men. There are, indeed, eddies into which men drift, or into which they steer; there are back currents, but after all they are part of the main stream of tendency. The personal, the racial, the national, the ecclesiastical factors are always present. But they are all touched in some way and in some measure by the subtle spirit that is at work beneath and in all forms of life in the age in which we live. It will be the object of the discussion which follows to make this, if possible, somewhat apparent. We shall examine some of the agencies

that have wrought upon modern preaching and some of the influences that have shaped it, note some of its prominent characteristics as thus influenced and shaped, and outline some of the distinctive qualities in the preaching of different nationalities and ecclesiastical communions.

THE MODERN PULPIT

THE MODERN PULPIT

CHAPTER I

PREPARATIVE INFLUENCES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE eighteenth century was one of the most productive periods in the history of the Christian pulpit. It was an age of revolution, when all the foundations were broken up. It was a period of strong revulsions, when the forces that had been liberated leaped swiftly into ascendency, set themselves in vigorous reaction against tradition, changed the currents of human life, and bore fresh fruit in every sphere. As being an age of destruction it has been called a barren age, but it was an era in the long run and in the larger estimate directly or indirectly productive of most beneficent results.

The movements that then emerged into prominence soon made themselves felt in the work of the preacher. In the ferment of new ideas and of new emotions and sentiments, fresh interest was awakened in the problems of the pulpit. New homiletic theories emerged that bore the names of different schools. New types of preaching were multiplied that found vigorous adherents and defenders. A new spirit wrought destructively in old methods. In substance, tone, and aim change followed change in rapid succession, and the way was prepared for what developed later on. What is most characteristic of the preaching of the last century finds in many of its essential elements a period of preparation in the century preceding, and is an enlargement in modified form of those transformations. One knows adequately the preaching of the last century only by knowing it in its historic

sources. Let us, therefore, see if we can discover what lies behind it.

The type of preaching that on the whole had precedence at the beginning of the eighteenth century was an inheritance from the post-Reformation period. It was of the old doctrinal type. It is true that various partial modifications in the post-Reformation homiletic tradition had already taken place. Its excessive didactic character had not met the needs of the religious life of the churches. It had not satisfied the Protestant demand for immediate commerce with the ever fresh sources of Biblical inspiration. It had failed to find response in the literary tastes of the cultivated classes, nor did it meet the increasing demands of their broader intelligence. The experimental, the Biblical, the literary, and the rational interest had already begun to make serious inroads into the old dry and stereotyped method. But the disintegrating forces had not yet done their revolutionary work. In all countries where the Roman church was dominant the old ecclesiastical, dogmatic method was a matter of course. But in the chief Protestant countries as well, in Germany, Holland, France, and Great Britain, a corresponding method, the traditional method of the post-Reformation period, was still prevalent.[1] It was a strongly dogmatic type of preaching that rested largely upon some form of external authority. Its ultimate source is perhaps to be found in a one-sided and extreme, and so defective, estimate of the significance and importance of the doctrinal element in Biblical revelation. The Bible is primarily a body of doctrine and of legislation, to interpret and apply which is the preacher's most important function. The value of this point of view in the history of Christian preaching should not be minimized, nor the importance of the results in the long run accomplished, particularly in the elaboration and thorough presentation of different

[1] Th. Harnack's "Pract. Theol. Homiletic," 125 ff.

phases of doctrinal Christianity. But it has been painfully overwrought. All this involved also erroneous or at least extravagant conceptions of Biblical inspiration and even of Biblical revelation itself in its doctrinal aspects.[1] Biblical revelation interpreted by Christian experience, as against church tradition, was of course the external basis of authority for the reformation movement. It was therefore supremely important that the reformers should know what the Bible said, what it really taught. Hence their interest in Biblical exegesis. But much as they may have known and must know about the teachings of the Bible, they were still measurably ignorant as to what the Bible really was. The leading reformers, indeed, especially Luther, at one period of his activity, seemed to have a presentiment of the larger problem. They distinguished between the Bible as a collection of historic records and the word of God that is contained in it, and the Scriptures were handled in a free and rational, but always in a reverent, manner. The testimony of the Christian consciousness and the witness of the divine Spirit in the heart of the believer were coördinated with the external authority of the Bible as sources of religious certitude. But these germs of a better knowledge were not fully developed. The traditional conception of the Bible still prevailed. It is a compendium of positive, dogmatic truth, rather than a historic record of God's personal self-revelation as the redeemer of men. Hence it must stand over against men as an external source of infallible doctrinal authority at all points. This involved erroneous conceptions of Biblical inspiration. It was an inspiration that covered the entire subject-matter of the Bible and was not limited to its ethical and religious teachings. The results in preaching of this failure to understand the true character of Biblical revelation and inspiration were manifold. One of them was a perverted

[1] Rothe's "Geschichte der Predigt," 367–370.

use of texts. As inspired, all Scripture passages must have in themselves all fulness of significance. They may therefore be isolated and treated independently as individual texts. In such use of them there can be no assurance that an utterly false significance may not be assigned to them, a significance not only foreign to what was in the mind of the writer, but foreign in fact to all legitimate Biblical teaching and even to all legitimate homiletic suggestion. In this way texts were strained, until, as a quaint old Puritan divine said, the preacher "drew blood." It has become increasingly evident that it is necessary to know what the Bible really is before one can adequately know what it really says. The higher criticism is of essential value to the lower criticism. Here then we have with modifications the old allegorical method. Every Scripture, as being fully and infallibly inspired, must have more than its historic or primary and surface meaning. It must have, of course, a hidden spiritual sense. In fact it may have manifold meanings, all equally true, however contradictory in thought or incapable of being rationally harmonized. The result of all this was erroneous teaching. All Scripture, with its manifold points of view, its diversities of teaching, and its varieties of literary form, is put upon the same dead level. The two Testaments are confounded and the Hebrew Scriptures are made to teach Christian doctrine. But in course of time the Scriptures themselves, although at all points infallibly inspired, ceased to be adequate for the assumed needs of the church, especially for the defence of truth, which was being vigorously assailed by the adversaries of the church. Christianity as doctrine does not interpret itself. It cannot be left to be interpreted by the unlearned individual Christian in the experiences of his own inner life, nor should it be left any longer to the individual preacher, however pious or well instructed in Biblical religion. It is of supreme importance that

Christianity as a divine teaching should be authoritatively expounded. The church must interpret the Bible. Christian truth must be formulated as church dogma, and as thus formulated it must bear the mark of church authority.[1] The authority of the Bible itself, as interpreted by Christian experience or by the learning of the individual preacher, will no longer suffice. Church creeds therefore become the authoritative standard of orthodoxy and the authoritative basis for pulpit teaching.[2] It is true that nominally church orthodoxy was held in subordination to the Protestant tradition of the supremacy of the Scriptures as interpreted by Christian experience and by the witness of the divine Spirit in the soul, in all matters of Christian belief and conduct. But practically doctrine as formulated by church authority was supreme. Church orthodoxy was the test of value for the work of the pulpit. In this way the Reformation failed to realize for the pulpit its largest and best results. Emancipated by a sublime revolt of the Christian heart and conscience in the name of God against the shackles of ecclesiasticism, the Protestant churches returned to the old bondage in new form, and we have once more a strong ecclesiastical type of preaching that matches and counterweights the dogmatism of the Roman church. Church doctrine becomes the paramount interest, an end to itself, and the Christian life practically a subordinate interest. Anchoring thus directly to the creeds of the churches, instead of foraging upon the ever fresh Biblical sources, laying supreme stress upon orthodoxy, and insisting upon a dogmatic subject-matter, the inevitable outcome for preaching was a perversion of the truth itself. A formal orthodoxy that makes its primary appeal to mental assent, and to authoritatively defined doctrine, has more emphasis for belief than it has for life,

[1] Rothe's "Geschichte der Predigt," 367–370.
[2] Christlieb's "Geschichte der Christlichen Predigt," Real Encyklopädie, 18, 531–534.

and for teaching than it has for persuasion. Hence a loss of grip upon vital truth. The more orthodox on this wise men become the less real their hold upon the great verities of religion. Theology is confounded with religion itself. To preach church orthodoxy is simply to preach the true religion. The claims of the one are precisely the claims of the other. The formal is confounded with the real. Belief is identified with faith. Orthodox opinion is the way of life. Thus men strayed from the truth, and the spiritual life declined. The great central principle of the Reformation was perverted. Justification is divorced from the subjective experience of redemption, and holiness of character is a subordinate interest in the way of salvation. In this identification of evangelical faith with dogmatic faith the Protestant churches came back once more into close touch with the church of Rome. To rely upon church orthodoxy — what better is that than to rely upon church sacraments or upon any form of external church authority? This perversion of the truth was contested, but it was not overcome. The Christian life was externalized once more. Religion was divorced from morality. Virtue was a matter of prudence, and piety decayed at the root. The church set the standards of homiletic correctness, and preaching lost its experimental and Biblical basis. A false conception of the object of preaching was involved. Indoctrination was the aim, and this became an end to itself. It was not enough that men be won from lives of sin to lives of holiness, that they be edified in Christian manhood by a fresh Biblical exposition and an experimental inculcation of the truth, and thus in the freedom of the spirit become the supporters and defenders of a living Christianity that should dominate the whole life. They must become the patrons of an institutional religion that was embodied in institutional dogmas and beliefs. Thus, too, the tone and spirit of preaching suffered deterioration. The new, fresh life that had liberated the Reformation movement and that had

lifted preaching into a great height of spiritual power had vanished. It became dogmatic in temper as well as in substance and method, and degenerated into violent polemics. The pulpit became an armed fortress. To defend orthodoxy and to fight down heresy, Romanist and Protestant alike, was the supreme aim. The missionary life of the church languished. The church is an army of hostile camps, each concentrating all its energies upon the defence of its own orthodoxy. Worship held a subordinate place and preaching was thrown out of harmony with the needs of the worshipping assembly. As Romanism divorced preaching from worship, so Protestantism divorced worship from preaching, to the detriment of both. Romanism made the *opus operatum* of the church sacraments and Protestantism the *opus operatum* of church orthodoxy the supreme interest, and in either case and in both alike to the devitalizing of the Christian life.[1]

The artistic and literary quality of preaching also suffered. The freshness, the freedom, and the individuality that had characterized the preaching of the Reformation period vanished. Spontaneity and naturalness no longer reigned supreme. A new ecclesiastical interest was to be subserved and a new instrument was demanded suited to the uses of dogmatics and polemics. The instrument that was chosen had not been provided by the church itself, was out of harmony with its own true spirit, with the Reformation movement, and with the spirit of the age.[2] The church appropriated with modifications the old scholastic method. It introduced into the pulpit the categories of a formal dialectic that counterworked its rhetorical effectiveness. Preaching became elaborately and formally argumentative. Instead of appealing to the moral and spiritual intuitions, as the Scriptures do, it appealed primarily to the understanding and sought to lay into the

[1] Rothe's "Geschichte der Predigt," 366. [2] *Ibid.*, 367.

mind the doctrines of the church by elaborate processes of analysis. It was abstruse in thought, formal, minute, and stereotyped in method, pedantic in its multitudinous citations, abstract in terminology, and barbarous in literary style. Defect in subject-matter and in aim will always involve defect in rhetorical form. The didactic interest failed of all kindlings of the imagination, of all utterance of the emotions and affections. Losing all freshness, spontaneity, naturalness, variety, and individuality, it lost also ethical and spiritual tone. It is true that in Great Britain and France various influences had, before the beginning of the century, modified the work of the pulpit. In the Netherlands and in Germany it lacked the stimulus of a better intellectual and artistic life. In Germany[1] homiletic problems were indeed vigorously discussed, but the discussion was without fruitful results, and changes were only perpetuations in new form of the old method. Everywhere the dogmatic method still held the field. The universities and training schools for preachers still supported and defended it, and carried it against all reaction on into a revolutionary age. It is singular how long and how tenaciously this method, with whatever modifications, held its own. The echoes of it still linger in the memories of men who have not yet got beyond their threescore years and ten. The persistence of the dogmatic principle and method is in some sort a partial vindication of the value of the attempt to interpret Christianity in a formulated doctrinal consensus, a demonstration of the tenacity with which men hold to external authority in religion, of the importance they attach to what they regard as a rational method of interpreting it and is in fact a witness, however perverted, as to the value of some objective basis for religious faith, and the importance of domesticating religion in human thought.

In Germany the centre of influence for dogmatic ortho-

[1] Rothe's "Geschichte der Predigt," 375.

doxy was Saxony, and the university of Leipzig was its chief support, as in the previous period the University of Wittenberg had been the chief centre of the old Biblical school that had its origin in the Reformation, and the influence of the Leipzig school was felt throughout northern Germany.[1] Each university, indeed, had its own method of preaching which bore its name and mark, but all were only modifications of the same generic method. The dominance in northern Germany of the doctrinal conception of Christianity, the preponderance of intellectual influences, the thoroughness with which the North German grasps his problem, the tenacity with which he holds to it, his relative defect in artistic gifts, and the slowness with which he responds to literary and rhetorical influences, as well as the decay of piety in the churches and the influence of the universities, account largely for the firmness with which it intrenched itself here, and the same is largely true of the Netherlands. On the other hand the mystical tendencies of the people, their ardent affectionateness and emotional responsiveness, which conditioned the culture of a more spiritual type of piety, measurably account for the fact that it found a less congenial home in South Germany.[2]

In Great Britain the confessional type of preaching was somewhat common in the Anglican, in the Scottish, and in the Puritan churches, and the political, ecclesiastical, and theological controversies of the age furthered its perpetuation. In the Puritan churches the Biblical method of preaching was more common than in the established church and had been so during the seventeenth century.[3] The same is measurably true of the Scottish churches, and even in the Anglican church we find a body of learned and cultivated men, who had already become subject to the intellectual and artistic influences of their age and who

[1] Christlieb's "Geschichte der Christ. Pred.," Real Ency., 18, 531–536.
[2] *Ibid.*, 564. [3] *Ibid.*, 549.

had modified the confessional type of preaching that was current. It is eminently true that the piety of the Puritan churches in that Golden Age of Puritanism had to a considerable extent modified the extremes of the confessional type, and when at its best, even at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Puritan preaching was experimental and Biblical. And yet it is also true that the Puritan preachers, and the Scottish as well, used the experimental and Biblical method in the defence of the dogmas of the churches, and in the support in general of external authority in religion. At the beginning of the century the preaching of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands was of a higher order in general than that of Germany. But still these better methods were devoted to the defence of a religion of external authority and in special of the formulated doctrines of the churches.

In the churches of the British colonies in this country, and later on of the United States, this type of preaching had been introduced by our Puritan fathers and was the prevailing method in the Congregational and Presbyterian churches. It was indeed largely of an experimental and Biblical character, but this was largely devoted to the interests of confessionalism, for it was impossible even for Puritan piety and Bibliology to conceive of Christianity as other than a compendium of doctrine, to acknowledge the relative insignificance of the logical understanding as an organ of religious knowledge, or to admit that Christianity can exist independently of the external authority of the church. Experience and Scripture were made to do duty in interpreting and defending church doctrines. These doctrines of the church were assumed adequately to interpret the truths of Scripture and the facts of experience. They were assumed, whether correctly or incorrectly, and on the whole doubtless correctly, to be in harmony with the best type of religious experience at that time, were regarded as necessary to further it, and were so used.

But everywhere in Protestant Christendom the old confessional method, tenacious of grip although it was, had become unfruitful. Theological abstractions, that did not nourish the emotional or spiritual or moral, or even intellectual, and still less the artistic life, had become a weariness to the spirit. The sacred rights of religion had been violated, and there came, gradually, through a period of previous preparation, but rapidly in the ultimate issue, a reaction for which the churches were to a considerable extent prepared. The agencies and influences that wrought productively in the interest of reform we will now more particularly investigate.

I. The earliest influence, and perhaps the most permanent and beneficent in its results, was of a distinctively religious character. The primal instincts of the religious nature reasserted themselves. In Germany the religious movement appeared as a form of mysticism and took the name of pietism. Mysticism is subjective religion. It is religion seeking to emancipate itself from the tyranny of external media. It is religion bringing the soul into the immediate presence of God, and insisting upon its right to live in immediate fellowship with Him.[1] The church has never been without its mystics or without its mystical phase of piety. It is the very heart of religion. It is the very soul of all most effective preaching. In Philip James Spener, the founder of German pietism, we have a new phase of mystical religion. Spener's movement was on the one side a reaction against the perversion and deterioration of the Christian life in the Lutheran church, of which he was a member. Religion had become externalized. Political influences had corrupted the church, the horrors of war had intensified the irreligion of his age, and confessionalism at once expressed and perpetuated the unreality of its religion. Politicians ruled the state church, the authority of this church supplanted the

[1] Dorner's "Hist. of Prot. Theol.," Vol. II, 177–185, 203 ff.

authority of revelation, dogma took the place of piety, and the pulpit was strong chiefly in scholastic logic and rhetoric. There was no proper organization of the church. There was no effective missionary work, and the individual Christian life was neglected. But the soul of the movement was the revival of a mystical piety in this great religious genius, and its roots run back to the mysticism of the sixteenth century. Spener's life is hid in Böheme and Arndt and in the mystical theologians Gerhard and Andrea, and in the religious poets and hymn writers, of whom there was a surprising number in that degenerate age, just as their life is hid in the mystics of the pre-Reformation period. In his reaction against an external religion and the scholasticism that was its organ, Spener laid new accent upon the experimental and ethical elements in preaching, and recalled a more simple, natural, spontaneous, and Biblical type of it. In point of time Spener belongs to the seventeenth century, for his chief work was done in the last quarter of it. But with him is the beginning of those developments in the German churches, Lutheran and Reformed alike, that exerted their most powerful influence in the first half of the eighteenth century. He reasserted the Lutheran principle of the priesthood of all believers, laying fresh emphasis upon the right, the privilege, and the duty of the individual believer to live in immediate fellowship with God and of all the members of the church to coöperate in furthering the interests of piety. Within the church he organized private assemblies for prayer and conference and Biblical study. They constituted the "Collegia Pietatis," that gave the name "pietism" to the movement, and were the germ of the German Conventicle. He insisted upon spiritual as distinguished from intellectual knowledge, himself caring nothing for learning that was not tributary to piety, and maintaining that a knowledge of religion is dependent upon a holy life, but that such a life is not dependent upon a knowledge of

theology. He summoned the preachers of his day, not to a less studious, but to a more holy and godly life. He called for the abandonment of the dogmatic and polemic type of preaching, and recognized that only as worthy of the name of preaching which was an utterance of the heart and conscience, and a testimony as to what the preacher feels and knows inwardly of religious truth, and not what he knows of theology, logic, or rhetoric. Preaching, therefore, must be experimental, not ecclesiastical; biblical, not confessional. The aim of preaching is edification by enrichment and intensification of the experiences of the inner life, not indoctrination or increase in the knowledge of abstract theology. Theological beliefs may be and often are wholly divorced from piety. The Christian life is one of supreme devotion to Christ. It must rest wholly upon him, and can rely as little upon the doctrines as upon the sacraments of the church.

Spener was a great personality. He was above all a pastor and a pastoral teacher, a teacher sent by God to organize a needed work. In all this he reminds us of Baxter, his contemporary, a man of kindred spirit, who in a limited sphere did for the English churches what Spener did for Germany. Like Baxter, he reëstablished catechetics, putting it upon a better basis, and giving it a new impulse, so that the catechumenate became tributary to the work of the pulpit, preparing the congregation for the more extended work of Biblical exposition. His objective point was not the general public, as was so often the case with the political preaching of the English Puritans, but he aimed supremely at the quickening, guidance, and nurture of individual souls. He was not a separatist and never broke with his church. An ordained minister was always in attendance at the conventicle, the sacraments were always administered with ecclesiastical regularity, and his adherents were always attendants at the services of the established church. But orthodox

confessionalism rose in revolt against a movement that was undermining its influence, and Spener gave up the conventicle and worked in the homes of the people. He reëstablished family worship and frowned upon all forms of worldly amusement. Like Baxter, and later on the English Methodists, who must have been familiar with his movements, Spener did an immense amount of religious work by correspondence. The University of Halle, of which he was one of the founders and with which Wittenberg subsequently united, became the centre of Spener's movement. Before his death in 1705 it had spread into all parts of Germany, and by the middle of the century Halle was the most popular university in Germany, numbering thousands of students from all sections of the country. So sure are the religious feelings, sentiments, and affections to exact reprisals of religious arrogance and of that pride of external authority that would rob them of their rights.

As we have seen, North Germany was the original centre of the pietistic movement, where it won its field with wonderful rapidity. After Spener it was represented by Francke, his successor at Halle, who was a more effective preacher than Spener and a man of great administrative ability. But by the middle of the century it had lost something of the strength, the dignity, and the reality of the initiative. It had undermined orthodox confessionalism, but other hostile influences were now undermining it. It intrenched itself more firmly and in better form in South Germany, and here the Swabian George Conrad Rieger, a preacher of compelling power, comparable in popular effectiveness, it is said, with Luther himself, was its most notable representative in the pulpit.

The modern Moravian church was in some sort a product of the pietistic movement. Its leader, Zinzendorf, however, regarded the Halle school as too subjective in its piety, and defective in its grasp of objective evangelical

truth. He would not accept allegiance to the national church, and broke with it.[1]

For the pulpit the gain from this great movement is evident at once. In the material and formal sense it modified the old type of preaching, while it moderated the extremes of a new type that subsequently emerged. It appeals to experience and no longer to mere external authority. It rests upon a Scriptural basis and no longer upon abstract doctrinal statements that make their appeal primarily to intellectual assent. Dogmatic arrogance and polemic harshness give place to a more sympathetic and affectionate inculcation. The evangelical, which is the ethical and religious, conception of faith is restored, and redemption as an inner experience is coördinated and correlated with redemption as an objective fact. Instead of the scholastic, pedantic, topical, we have the Biblical, expository method. Preaching becomes more simple and spontaneous, more direct and earnest and spiritual in tone, more practical and more forceful in style, and more popular. As an ultimate result, orthodox confessionalism joined hands with pietism in advocacy of the new type of preaching and in efforts to check the progress of the common enemy, rationalism.

To the pietistic movement in Germany answered in some respects the Puritan movement in England.[2] It developed earlier, however, in the seventeenth century when in purity and power it was at its best. Puritanism was not primarily a reaction against ecclesiastical dogmatism, although this in part, but against the tyranny of an ecclesiastical institutionalism that refused to recognize the sacred rights of conscience. It was, therefore, involved in political complications, as pietism was not, and was a

[1] Christlieb's "Geschichte der Christ. Pred.," Real Ency., 18, 558–572; Rothe's "Geschichte der Pred.," 397–404; Ker's "History of Preaching," Lectures 11, 12, and 13.

[2] Stoughton's "Eccle. Hist. of Eng.," Vol. II, Chs. XVII–XXIII; Christlieb's "Geschichte der Christ. Pred.," 549 ff.

separatist movement. But their fundamental principles are the same. They are at bottom an affirmation of the sacred rights of the individual soul unconditioned by the external authority of an institutional religion. Men like Baxter and Bunyan, the great pastoral evangelists of their age, and Howe the great pastoral theologian, and others of the seventeenth century, men for the most part of great learning and of indefatigable industry, disclose the true Puritan spirit of revolt against institutional domination. They held, indeed, the dogmatic principle and their preaching was colored not only by the political and ecclesiastical, but by the theological controversies in which they were engaged. But its experimental and Biblical quality modified to a large extent its confessional quality. The preaching of these men was at once liberalizing in a sort and fruitful of most beneficent practical results. They were pastoral preachers of great evangelical zeal and were highly acceptable to the people. The preaching, as well as the life in general, of the Puritan churches declined in spiritual power during the first half of the eighteenth century, the period in which German pietism was most flourishing. But the decline was recognized and felt by the most spiritually minded preachers of the time.[1] Isaac Watts was, like Baxter, a plain, simple, direct, pastoral preacher, tolerant in spirit, and seeking always to use the truth for spiritual edification; and Philip Doddridge, who, in that period of spiritual declension, reminded the Puritan churches that, in order to hold the allegiance of the middle classes of England, who had always been their supporters, they must have "evangelical, experimental, plain and affectionate preachers," vindicated the claim in an eminent degree in his own preaching. Such men as these show that the fires of Puritan freedom and devotion were still burning on their altars. The Methodist revival, which has affiliations with German pietism, belongs to

[1] Rothe's "Geschichte der Predigt," 416, 418.

the second half of the century. Its influence in modifying English preaching in the established church as well as in the dissenting bodies was powerful, but its most effective development belongs to the nineteenth century and it may well be considered as one of the forces of that period. Prior to the Methodist revival we do not find that such modifications as had taken place in the preaching of the Anglican church were due to any general religious movement from within. But what we call evangelical piety, which is the religion of subjective experience, found a home in what is known as the evangelical branch of the church. It had certain affiliations with Puritan dissent, and there were connected with it individual preachers of notable spiritual as well as oratorical power. Whitefield, the evangelist, and Wilson, bishop of the Isle of Man, were promoters in the established church of the Methodist revival and were most effective in all missionary enterprise. These men represented something of the Puritan spirit of religious independence and of evangelical zeal in the Anglican church.

In Scotland the religious movement developed in the churches of the Secession that antagonized the moderate or rationalistic party of the Kirk, and found ultimate expression in the Free Church. It is true that the preaching of Moderatism, which was in many respects of a high order, struck a heavy blow at the old Scottish dogmatic method, but the preaching of the Secession returned to the Biblical method or used it more effectively and more fully conserved the interests of piety and ultimately did more effective service for the Scottish churches.

In America experimental religion perpetuated itself in preachers like Jonathan Edwards, and men of similar spirit, who gave themselves to the awakening of the religious life of the churches and who rescued them from the ravage of worldliness and infidelity, and later on men like President Timothy Dwight wrought with great effectiveness

in the same interest. It is true that church orthodoxy and the dogmatic method in the pulpit still largely held the field, but in spirit it was greatly modified by the ardent piety of its chief representatives. Jonathan Edwards especially, with all his vast intellectual power, the greatest metaphysician and theologian of the new world, and with all his dogmatic assurance, was as ardent a pietist as Zinzendorf, although of a more rational type. No man knows this great spirit who does not recognize the mysticism that wrote "The Religious Affections," that came as by intuition and without the mediation of any speculative or dialectical process to the knowledge of the divine sovereignty and priority, and that was productive of such beneficent results to the New England churches. The preaching of the Puritan churches of New England was essentially experimental, and sought, although often confessedly under serious dogmatic limitations, to be Biblical. It was most ardent in its spiritual, and most urgent in its ethical tone, in its own way seeking to promote the religious and moral needs of the people, and its influence has never been wholly lost.

In France the religion of subjective experience, or the religion of the heart and conscience, was represented in the Gallic Church by saintly men like Fénelon and Pascal, who found the chief support of Christianity, not in the authority of the Roman church but in the character of Christ and in the fitness of his religion to meet the spiritual wants of men, and who demonstrate that in that church, even in an age of scepticism, a mystical piety may be found. But it was in the Protestant churches that for the most part experimental religion prevailed. The seventeenth century was the blooming time of French Protestant preaching. It was the period of the great classic preachers of the Gallic church, and Protestant preachers were measurably influenced by them. But in purity of teaching, in Biblical and non-dogmatic tone, in religious fervor, and in

edifying spiritual power they far surpassed these great pulpit orators, the lights of the Gallic Church. Claude was the great leader of the Protestant churches. He bettered the topical method that was prevalent in the Roman church, against which he vigorously reacted, but laid chief stress upon the Biblical expository method, and accounted as of supreme importance a practical aim in the preacher. His most notable successor was Saurin, the most distinguished and brilliant of all French Protestant preachers. He disclosed all the leading excellences of the typical French preacher, — clearness, directness, epigrammatic brevity, unction, affectionateness, pathos, — and in him the French Protestant pulpit reached its highest point of excellence. Like Claude he died in exile at The Hague and left no worthy successor in his century. It is evident that these French exiles were instrumental in influencing beneficently the preaching of the Netherlands, by modifying the old dogmatic method that had held sway there.

II. Another influence that wrought variously in the work of modification, in part disastrously, but in the long run and in the large sense productively and beneficently, was a new movement of intellectual life. It was in line with the awakening of the mental life of the age that effort should be made somehow to bring religion into closer and better working relation with those larger and more correct views of human nature and of human life and of the material world that were then in process of development, and so to make religion seem more natural and more reasonable. It began to be seen that the only rational and credible religion is one that is bedded in the constitution of human nature, whose principles are in harmony with its laws and somehow in harmony with the universe in which men live. The church indeed had rightly aimed to secure faith in a religion that is above nature, for that can be no religion that is simply an independent product of nature, but it had succeeded in leaving the

impression that Christianity is against nature. It reaches man, not by appropriating and assimilating nature, but by breaking it down and subduing it. A hard and fast line was drawn between nature and the supernatural, and the supernatural is successfully revealed only by suspending the order of nature. This is what was known as the ecclesiastical view of religion. Grace treats nature as hostile and aims at its conquest by sheer supernatural force. This view was regarded as unreasonable because it was unnatural. In the newly awakened intellectual life men began to look at religion more closely in its relation to the established order. Hence developed what was known as "natural religion," or religion conceived as belonging to the constitution of human nature and as in harmony with the order of the world. A movement like that, when once freed from its original crudeness, surely could not fail to be attended ultimately with most beneficent results. At the outset it was by no means hostile to Christianity reasonably interpreted. It was a genuine effort to harmonize the natural and the supernatural and to find a more reasonable basis for Christian faith.

In Great Britain [1] this movement emerged in the philosophical and theological controversies of the seventeenth century and later on in the deistic controversy of the eighteenth century and ultimately proved hostile in many ways to Christianity and to all religion. The controversies of the church with Dutch Arminianism, which was of a different type from that to which later on John Wesley adhered and its controversies with Socinianism and Arianism were all involved in this intellectual awakening of the age, and in its effort to naturalize religion deism did not at first deny the supernatural element in Christianity, although it may be questioned whether the

[1] See Cairns' "Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century," I, III; Tulloch's "Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century."

denial be not legitimately involved in it. At any rate in its effort to show that all religion is natural, Christianity included, it finally lost all grasp of religion as supernatural and reduced Christianity to a species of naturalistic ethics. Thus it became hostile to the religion of revelation. By denying that religion involves in itself the conception of revelation, by reducing it to a product of the ethical consciousness, and by assigning to ethics a utilitarian character, it at last became hostile to religion itself. This bald naturalism ultimated in scepticism, infidelity, and atheism. The religious life of the churches became cold and formal. The mystical element in religion was discredited. All imagination, all feeling, affection, and sentiment were ruled out of it and it became a matter of institutional prudence. The presence in the established church of sneerers like Sterne and Dean Swift, whose Christianity was altogether apparently of an external and prudential sort, is evidence of the degeneracy of the pulpit. In fact the Christianity of such estimable men as Addison and Johnson lacked the evangelical note and was largely a matter of institutional wisdom and respectability, rather than of ardent piety. The apologetics of the church was inadequate. When the ecclesiastical conception of Christianity was attacked, it had no adequate defence. Orthodoxy, drawing a hard and fast line between the natural and the supernatural, was driven to the position that the supernatural can reveal itself in the order of nature only by a species of external violence that arrests attention to itself, and these external manifestations become the only adequate evidence in support of Christianity. Men like Hume and "Tom" Paine took advantage of this weak point in the defence of Christianity. They applied the agnostic method in discrediting religion. If the chief evidences of Christianity are of this external character, it has no sufficient defence, for these evidences furnish no adequate basis of support for a positive affirmation. No

amount of external evidence is sufficient to substantiate a miracle. We cannot reach here even a basis of probability, for there is always a stronger probability that the witnesses lied or were deceived than that the miracle happened. This sort of reasoning took hold of the upper classes, that were to a large extent connected with the established church. All this was the unfortunate outcome of an inadequate conception of nature and of the relation of the supernatural to it. So long as the position was held that religion must be bedded in the constitution of human nature and could not be hostile to it, there could be no antagonism to the interests of religion. But when the position was taken that there can be no rational and credible religion that is not contained within the limits of nature and that the order of nature cannot adjust itself to a supernatural world, the intellectual movements of the age became hostile to religion and so to the preaching of the church, especially of the established church, but, measurably, also, of the Puritan and Scottish churches. In this intellectual agitation the Unitarian schism originated. This movement was doubtless a genuine effort to make Christianity more credible, because in harmony with human nature. It doubtless conserved important religious and moral interests. Its influence upon the work of preaching has in many ways been a very valuable influence. But it will doubtless be generally conceded that its philosophic basis was inadequate. Its conception of reason and its conception of nature were not broad enough. It was inferior in ethical and religious significance to American Unitarianism that developed later on, and its influence upon the religious life of the churches has not been what might have been wished.

The political conditions of the age were also hostile to an earnest religious life. The picture which Bishop Burnet gave of the frivolity, the ignorance, the impiety, and even immorality of the clergy of the established church in

his day is a proof of the malign influence of scepticism and of political corruption even among so intelligent a body of men as could be found in that church. Political corruption was in a sort of alliance with scepticism to discredit religion, and a species of vulgar religious infidelity under the lead of "Tom" Paine was spread among the common people, the influence of which even the Puritan churches did not altogether escape.

Moderatism in Scotland, with all the thoughtfulness and literary grace of such representative preachers as Blair, was in too close alliance with the naturalistic school, and was not promotive of the piety of the churches.

English deistic naturalism got footing in France and allied itself with the democratic instincts of the French people. Under the leadership of men like Voltaire and Rousseau it became a source of intellectual and political revolution.[1] Its unfavorable results are seen in the preaching of the Roman Catholic church. The Christianity presented by the classic French preachers was not of the highest type even from the Roman point of view. It was affected by the disintegrating influences of the age.[2] The Protestant pulpit was less unfavorably influenced, but it had already declined in power. It was an age of spiritual degeneracy among the upper classes, and of political and social degeneracy among the populace, and people and preachers alike had lost moral and religious earnestness.

From England and France these influences reached America, and the war of the Revolution intensified them. The American pulpit deteriorated in moral and spiritual power, and the condition of Yale College during the early part of President Dwight's administration illustrates the mental attitude towards Christianity of the educated men of the time.

But there is a better side. Already in the seventeenth

[1] Cairns' "Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century," Lecture IV.
[2] Rothe's "Geschichte der Predigt," 388 ff.

century in Great Britain there were men of learning in the established church who wisely and worthily recognized the intellectual demands of the age upon the pulpit. It was a period of illustrious men: Cudworth and Stillingfleet, theologians, and Taylor, South, and Barrow, preachers in the established church, and Baxter, Owen, and Howe among the Puritans. It was the most flourishing period of English Puritanism. It was the period of the Westminster Assembly. Archbishop Tillotson was the representative preacher of this period. As a preacher inferior in many respects to Taylor, South, and Barrow, he was nevertheless a larger and more commanding personality. He received his early education among Puritan dissenters and was a man of breadth of mind and catholicity of feeling, liberal, tolerant, candid, moderate. His influence as a preacher, not only upon the cultivated classes of the established church, and upon the Puritans, who represented the common people of England, but upon the preachers of France, Holland, and Germany, was greater than that of any Englishman of his day. A thorough student of philosophy and ethics, he was eminently fitted for the work of an apologetic preacher, which he was characteristically. In his defence of Christianity against the deism of his age, he chose the naturalistic point of view. Christianity is in accord with nature. It is the completion of natural religion, but it is something more. He was something of a utilitarian and dealt largely with the profitableness of religion. Although an apologist, he was eminently a practical preacher, and in the presentation of the ethical elements of Christianity was far in advance of the orthodox preachers of the age. Some of his wisest, profoundest and most helpful sermons are on domestic education and the culture of domestic religion. He subjected the ethical elements in Christianity to fresh examination, made new application of them, and restored practical preaching. He was hostile to all pulpit pedantry,

opposed Puritan elaboration and prolixity, demanded simplicity and directness, and preached with clearness, plainness, strength, and dignity. In English style he is recognized as the predecessor of Dryden. Addison regarded him as a model in diction, and he was known in his day as a popular preacher. Following Tillotson and his illustrious contemporaries, we find ourselves in the age of Clarke and Warburton and Sherlock and Butler. Not without success these men sought to adapt the thought of their age to the religious needs of the church. The Manxman Wilson, the poet-preacher Young, and Fawcett, the pulpit orator and rhetorician, are among the prominent lights of the Anglican pulpit of that time, and Watts and Doddridge are proof that although Puritanism had lost much of its purity and strength, Puritan Christianity was not without intelligent and able defenders.

In America, Jonathan Edwards represents the intellectual influences of the age in their highest form. With all his devotion to Biblical religion and all his ardent piety, he was a rational and independent thinker of incomparable metaphysical power. No man of his age combined in such measure respect for the rights of human reason, as it was then understood, with devotion to the doctrines of the church, and to the claims of Christian experience, and no man was more influential in introducing a rational method, according to the conceptions of the day, in defending the truth of Christianity and in modifying the old dogmatic method. In the latter part of the century the preaching of President Dwight, combining in admirable proportions the rational and the ethical, discloses a distinct break with the old and unfruitful methods of defending religion in the pulpit.

In France we find ourselves once more in the period of the classical preachers. We are in the period of Louis XIV and his successors. It is an age of intellectual culture among the upper classes. Its culture was to a considerable

extent humanistic rather than ecclesiastical. The Gallic church was in close touch with the upper classes, and its preachers, by their learning and eloquence, perpetuated its influence among these classes, an influence that did not penetrate to the circles below them. England, with its representative government, developed the forensic type of oratory, and the English orators reached the common people as well as the upper classes. In the pulpit the influence is seen in Tillotson and his contemporaries. While he and his associates were introducing into the English pulpit a more intelligent and reasonable type of preaching, the great classical preachers were elevating the standards of the French pulpit. The age of Tillotson is the age of Bossuet. Elevation of thought and clearness and elegance of diction were the characteristics of these French preachers. Bossuet was preëminently the dogmatic and eulogistic preacher, Bourdaloue the ethical, and Massillon the sentimental preacher. It was their common aim to adapt the culture of their time to the defence of religion. Protestant preachers vied with the preachers of the Roman church in effort to reach the people, but they were less successful with the upper classes. Saurin was the flower of this intellectual movement among the Protestant churches. He was a man of philosophic habit of mind as well as a rhetorician of the more temperate sort, a student of Descartes and Malebranche, and he wrought indirectly the results of his philosophic thinking into his preaching.

In Germany we find ourselves among the predecessors of Kant and in the period of preparation for the Illumination. Leibnitz, Wolff, and, later, Lessing, are among the sources of intellectual influence. It is the beginning of the naturalistic movement that passed from England and France, that took the form of rationalism, and culminated in the early part of the nineteenth century. Of its bad effects upon the German pulpit, it is not necessary to speak

at length. What is called "vulgar rationalism" completely abandoned supernatural religion. Religion was divorced from morality, or rather was identified with and lost in morality. To teach such morality there was needed only the light of nature, and reason and conscience were enough for the guidance of life. Thus rationalism became hostile to religion. This involved the deification of man and yet a narrow view of life. Morality became utilitarian and external. Preaching dealt with small, ethical subjects, lacked the inspiration of great thoughts and great themes, and its better method of ordering thought was no compensation for its lack of emotional freedom and spiritual energy. But there were men who represented the preaching of rationalism at its best and are not to be classed with the vulgar rationalists who peddled moral frivolities from the pulpit. They had not altogether abandoned faith in supernatural Christianity, although they failed to accentuate its distinctive supernatural teachings.[1] Among these was Zollikofer of the Reformed church, court preacher at Leipzig, and Spalding of the Lutheran church, court preacher at Berlin.[2] They valued supremely the teaching element in preaching and laid strong emphasis upon clear and discriminating statement. They dealt with moral truths, believing that the people need guidance in their moral duties, and they laid these truths upon the conscience in a rhetorically effective manner. They sought to cover a wide field in their ethical inculcation, introduced themes that are generally excluded from the German pulpit, and illustrated them from wide ranges of secular knowledge. They were topical preachers and used their texts with the freedom that is possible only to this type of preachers. But the most beneficent result of this great intellectual awakening that forced the orthodox and pietistic churches alike to a more reasonable defence of Christianity

[1] Rothe's "Geschichte der Predigt," 429–437.

[2] Christlieb's "Geschichte der Christ. Pred.," Real Ency., 576–579; Ker's "History of Preaching," Lecture XIV.

and to a more effective method of preaching is seen in a different class of preachers. There is no need to linger with the different schools of preaching that were the product of this awakening, or to note their merits and defects. It should be acknowledged that directly or indirectly they were ultimately tributary to the bettering of German preaching. They modified orthodox conceptions of God, of man, of nature, and of the relation of God to humanity and to the universe, and they forced pietism to the culture of intellectual virility.[1] This influence is seen in the pietism of South Germany, as it was represented by the school of Bengel. In Oethinger, a disciple of Bengel, this philosophic influence took a theosophic form. He undertook to find within the limits of Christianity itself a complete philosophic system. Christianity is a theosophy which, without the aid of any external support, is able to furnish its own instruments of rational defence. This conception of Christianity was doubtless based upon an erroneous principle of interpretation, and was wholly unsatisfactory in its results. Its successor in our day is found in the school of Biblical literalists. But it bore witness to the influence of the intellectual movements of the age, to a recognition of the necessity of finding a philosophic basis for religion, and it resulted without question in a great improvement in the preaching of the pietistic school.[2]

But the best type of this intellectual movement, of immense value to the pulpit of the age, was found in what may be called the mediating school of North Germany. Among the earliest representatives of this tendency was Rambach, professor at Halle, and colleague of Wolff, the philosopher. He was a disciple of Spener and was numbered with the Halle pietists. But he was a man of independent mind, of broad scholarship, was influenced by the philosophic spirit of Wolff, and saw that the preaching

[1] Rothe's "Geschichte der Predigt," 429–437.
[2] Christlieb's "Geschichte der Christ. Pred.," 564–567.

of the Halle school needed new fibre and new method. It was his task to better its preaching on the intellectual side. His material was Biblical, after the manner of the pietistic school, but his humanistic culture brought new material from without, and he developed and illustrated it in a fresh and attractive way, while his order was logical according to the canons of the Wolffian school. He was the pioneer in a reform of evangelical German preaching on the intellectual side, a predecessor of Mosheim, who regarded him as a model. He was an ethical preacher, who had a very definite conception of what the sermon should accomplish, who adapted his method, which was careful and clear in statement and logical in arrangement of arguments, to his aim, and so secured a variety which modified the stereotyped method of his day. Mosheim, who died about the middle of the century, still further developed Rambach's movement, but excelled him especially in literary form. In a very eminent degree he was a promoter of the literary reform in German preaching, and it will therefore be more appropriate to classify him accordingly.[1]

Reinhard, the Dresden court preacher, who passes over into the first decade of the nineteenth century († 1812), most fully represents the later mediating school of the century. Although powerfully influenced by the intellectual movements of his age, he never lost faith in supernatural religion. He represents the rationality of the philosophical thinker, the supernaturalism of the evangelical pietist, and the literary and rhetorical culture of the humanist. He does not obtrude his supernaturalism, nor deal very largely with the theology of the church. It was his aim to make Christianity seem reasonable to the thinking men of his time, bringing into prominence its ethical and human elements, at the same time appealing to the religious instincts and to religious interests. He was a topical preacher of the Mosheim school, severely

[1] Rothe's "Geschichte der Predigt," 452–457.

logical in method, speaking strongly to the understanding, and satisfying the philosophic thinkers of his day, while he spoke also to the conscience and to the imagination and the emotions, and so fertile was he in homiletic suggestion that he has been called "The Inexhaustible." His conception of what preaching should be is given in his autobiographical confessions relating to his preaching and to his ministerial culture in letters to a friend, in the following words: "Clear order, parts firmly knit into one whole, interesting and pertinent to the condition of the hearer, and practical with reference to the interests of life, language pertinent, *i.e.* clearness for teaching, a pictorial quality for description, strength for admonition, power for persuasion, and tranquillity for comfort. Preaching should move every side of the heart. The style should speak to the ear, full but not bombastic, resonant but not rhythmical. Thus it would speak to the understanding clearly, to the memory tenaciously, to the feelings stimulatingly, to the heart awakeningly. Thus one would speak with high simplicity, noble dignity, and beneficent warmth as one should speak." [1] This ideal of preaching, which Reinhard realized and which he furthered, bears witness to the combination of intellectual, ethical, spiritual, and artistic impulses that wrought within the chief German preachers of that age, and it indicates the modifications German preaching had already undergone in line with the advancing humanistic culture. We see especially in Reinhard the fruit of the new interest this great intellectual awakening had secured in the whole problem of German preaching. The whole subject was threshed out anew. The intellectual quality of preaching was bettered. It took closer connection with human life. It appropriated the fruits of a better culture. There is no longer exclusive appeal to dogmatic authority, nor

[1] Geständnisse, s. 54 f. Quoted by Rothe, 454. The Confessions have been translated into English by Oliver A. Taylor and memoirs have been added. An interesting volume.

to Biblical revelation, nor even to the inner experiences of the Christian life. The appeal is to the native intelligence of men as well, to the native moral instincts, and to the native sense of moral need. And all these changes had a favorable result in the structural and rhetorical form. Preaching became more rational, more practical, more methodical, more artistic, nor in the long run did it suffer in emotional and spiritual power. It may be freely acknowledged that even extreme types of naturalism and rationalism have ultimately made important contributions to the intellectual, the ethical, and the artistic factors in preaching. But much more important in all ways have been the contributions of those schools that have mediated between confessionalism and radicalism. Not only in the preaching of Germany, but in that of Great Britain and of the United States, do we see the results. In thoughtfulness, in ethical pertinence, and in artistic skill, it bears witness to the influence of this great movement of the intellectual life, which was one of the most characteristic marks of the eighteenth century.

III. Associated on the one side with the religious movements of the age that furthered the interests of an experimental and practical Christianity, and on the other side with those intellectual movements that furthered the interests of a rational Christianity, there was a Biblical movement of an advanced type.[1] It involved an awakening of the historical and critical spirit in the religious life. The revival, as we have already seen, brought preaching back to a Biblical basis. It is a notable fact that in general an awakened religious life turns as by instinct to the fresh living fountains of Biblical revelation.

The best and most pronounced type of experimental preaching is likely to be Biblical in its quality, and the best type of subjective religion is pretty sure to attach itself to objective revelation. Some form of external

[1] Ker's "History of Preaching," Lecture XV.

revelation seems to be necessary to the religious life. It is a degenerate type of piety that abandons a Scriptural basis. We see this in the history of German pietism. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the Biblical pietism of Spener had been abandoned. It is the defect of all mystical piety that lacks the balance of rationality, and the right sort of objective guidance and support, that it tends to an extreme of subjective individualism and sentimentalism. We see this in the history of many of the mystical sects. Spener saw the danger of carrying the subjective principle too far in his reformatory work, and sought to avoid extremes. But before he died he saw his own followers plunging into the very extremes he sought to avoid. The individual Christian life was alienated from the community life of the church. At the same time it lost its hold of the evangelical principle of Christian freedom. As in the case of English Puritanism a legal and ascetic principle was smuggled into it. By a singular contradiction the more ascetic and Judaistic it became the more subjectively sentimental and emotional it became, and at last, as always, it turned to cant and unreality.[1] But what is more specifically to the point in hand, the more subjective pietism became the less Biblical it became. It came to undervalue Biblical knowledge. The preaching of the pietistic school became less edifying, because less fruitful in Biblical material, and so increasingly irrational. It was against this extreme irrationality that the rationalistic movement reacted, and at last it became wholly alienated from every form of mystical piety.

This material and formal degeneracy of the preaching of pietism was preëminently true, however, of North Germany.[2] In South Germany, particularly in Würtemberg, pietism retained more of its original purity, and its preaching was more reasonable and more effective.

[1] Rothe's "Geschichte der Predigt," 401–402.
[2] Christlieb's "Geschichte der Christ. Pred.," 564 ff.

And yet it must be acknowledged that the Biblical basis of the entire pietistic movement was inadequate. It lacked a thorough critical knowledge of the Bible and its exegesis was faulty. A new Biblical movement was needed, therefore, in the interest of the religious life of the churches. The intellectual activity of the age demanded it. It came in South Germany, and it was precisely this movement which, by a more correct interpretation of the Biblical religion of redemption, seeking to promote the interests of genuine piety, succeeded here in perpetuating a more elevated type of it. Bengel was the head of this movement and the representative of a new school of preachers of a higher mystical type that originated in it. He may be called the founder of a type of Biblical or more correctly exegetical theology that has been of great value to the Christian churches. It is a noteworthy and interesting fact that Ernesti and Bengel, representatives in Biblical criticism of the interests of evangelical piety, antedate the school of negative critics. It must be regarded as in some sort a fortunate thing for the churches of this country that they rather than Semler and Eichhorn, or Strauss and Baur, were earliest known in most of our divinity schools. The historical, as well as the evangelical, spirit was not lacking among these pietists of the German churches, and it is to be remembered that the modern Biblical movement originated in the interest of a positive and not a negative religion. Bengel was a man of profound scholarship as well as of piety, and was on terms of cordial intimacy with the Halle men. Influenced by the intellectual life of his age, and avoiding the extremes of subjective sentiment, his piety was of a reasonable and healthy sort. It was strong on the critical and reflective side. He was indeed a Biblical realist, holding the position that the Scriptures of themselves alone contain all knowledge that is essential to the thought and life of the church. The Scriptures have never been

adequately interpreted by the dogmas of the church, nor fully interpreted in any other way, but are known adequately only by being subjected to ever fresh investigation. Like Puritan John Robinson, he believed that "more light is to break out of God's word," and he laid stress upon the unity and the historic progress and continuity of redemptive revelation. His "Gnomon," which was placed in the hands of English and American theological students about the middle of the last century, and which proved to be a most useful guide in Biblical exegesis, is a monument of the new Biblical movement, worthy the attention of the preacher even in our own day. It combines in good measure the critical and the religious spirit and has been richly suggestive in the work of the preacher. George Conrad Rieger, a far greater preacher than Bengel, was the most brilliant and effective representative of this Biblical school in South Germany, using Bengel's fertile method of exegesis in a most richly suggestive manner. He was eminently a Biblical, evangelistic preacher, whose supreme aim was to awaken men to a consecrated and active Christian life. "One should go to God's house," he says, "saying, 'I will go to the awakening hour,' and should be able to say on returning home, 'I come from the hour of awakening, and am awakened, aroused, strengthened, bettered, and made thankful, willing, joyful.'" Karl Henry Rieger, his son, belongs to the same school of Biblical evangelical preachers, and combines good homiletic method with thoughtfulness, practical wisdom, and piety.[1]

It was in North Germany, later on, after the pietistic movement had begun to decline, that Biblical criticism allied itself with the more radical intellectual movements of the age. Semler, who by a strange turn in the fortunes of theology, was professor in Halle University, the home of the pietists, is known as the father of the critical school of German rationalism. Semler and Eichhorn and other

[1] Christlieb's "Geschichte der Christ. Pred.," 565–568.

radical critics, although by no means hostile to the interests of religion, held the naturalistic or deistic point of view and ruled the supernatural out of the Scriptures. Some of the later critics like Strauss were Pantheists, following Hegel in his view that God as the Absolute, who comes to consciousness in humanity, in the process of gradual self-disclosure, can reveal himself as the absolute only in humanity as a whole, and therefore cannot be revealed in an individual finite personality like Jesus Christ, and hence that all supernatural claims for him must be rejected. Others were rationalists who followed Kant and discarded the supernatural as having no place in a religion which can be known only within the limits of reason. The influence of the radical school of criticism upon the German pulpit was doubtless in many respects disastrous. But that indirectly, in the long run and on the whole, the result has also in many respects been beneficent will hardly be questioned.

In Great Britain and in the United States Biblical study allied itself for the most part with the experimental and evangelical or apologetic interest, and thus through the pulpit became tributary to the faith and piety of the churches. In the Anglican church in the seventeenth century Archbishop Tillotson, in the interest of a more intelligent defence of Christianity, gave himself for four or five years after his graduation from the University, to diligent study of the Scriptures and was perhaps the most thorough Biblical scholar among the preachers of his day. He was a topical preacher, rarely using more than one or two verses of Scripture as his text, whose main thought became the basis of his discussion, and he strongly criticised the orthodox confessionalists for dealing capriciously with single words as their texts and forcing out of them all sorts of illegitimate meanings. He used the expository introduction, and there was a considerable amount of Biblical exposition in the main body of the sermon. Jeremy

Taylor also was to a large extent a Biblical preacher and so was Robert South.

In the evangelical churches of Scotland and in the Puritan churches of England and America, the Biblical quality of preaching increased in value, and the Biblical combined with the experimental quality tended to the rescue of preaching from the extreme of dogmatic confessionalism on the one side and of subjective emotionalism or rationalism on the other side. In the conflict with the naturalism of their day, evangelical preachers were driven to a more thorough and intelligent examination of the Scriptures, and the Biblical element, which deals with historic religion, has never lost its hold of the British and American pulpit.

In France respect for the Biblical and experimental quality was from the first the point of differentiation between the preaching of the Roman and Protestant churches. And yet in France, as well as in Great Britain and America there was no critical movement in the eighteenth century that was at all comparable with that of Germany. There was a bettering of Biblical exegesis, but the historical and critical method was not thoroughly domesticated. It was not until within the last half of the nineteenth century that the pulpit in these countries has appropriated to any considerable extent the results of a modern knowledge of the Bible, and that has come largely through the influence of German scholarship.

IV. As involved in the movements of the intellectual life of the age there was developed a new literary spirit, which soon made itself felt in the pulpit. In England Archbishop Tillotson, of whom frequent mention has already been made in other relations, and his contemporaries had already disclosed the beginning of this influence in their preaching. In the Scottish pulpit we see this later on in the preaching of Blair. Tillotson and Blair, as we have seen, were accepted as models by French and

German preachers, and it was largely on account of their literary merits. We find ourselves here in the so-called Augustan age of English literature, the age of Addison, Johnson, Pope, Steel, and Swift. The artistic aspects of preaching were bettered, as under Sir Christopher Wrenn the quality of church architecture was at the same time greatly enriched. The prominent preachers of the age were not only students of classical rhetoric and oratory, but of the literature of their own time. Preachers like Sterne and Swift disclose a better literary spirit and but little else, and Fawcett illustrates it in higher reaches of rhetorical and oratorical power. The preachers of America were in general under English influences, and English literature did not wholly fail to reach the American pulpit, but there was no native literature.

The great preachers of France, Gallic and Protestant, were not only students of classical literature, rhetoric, and oratory, but they showed those literary, those rhetorical, and oratorical gifts which seem to be the typical Frenchman's heritage and which were at that time cultivated as a matter of national pride.

In Germany much interest was awakened in the national literature. Societies were formed for the discussion of literary problems and for the culture of literary taste. The German language was studied with new interest and diligence in the universities and training schools. It is the period of preparation for romanticism, the literary phase of the Illumination.[1] English and French and to some extent Dutch influences in various lines had made themselves felt in Germany. Frederick the Great was the patron of English and French literature and was interested in philosophical and theological questions. As crown prince he had translated, before the middle of the century, some of the sermons of the classical French

[1] Real Ency., X, 328–333; Rothe's "Geschichte der Predigt," 424–427; Ker's "History of Preaching," 241–244.

preachers. He was a correspondent of Voltaire, who also for a time became a resident at his court. Tillotson, as we have already seen, and Saurin, because of the excellence of their literary style largely, were adopted by German preachers as models. In connection with all this we find the beginnings of aspiration for a new national literature. Mosheim, Chancellor of the University of Göttingen, the well-known and once widely studied church historian, was one of the early promoters of this literary awakening in the German pulpit. He was a man of great learning, of broad culture, and of a catholic spirit, not unlike the English broad churchman, comparable with Tillotson, with whom in fact he has been likened, gifted with unusual oratorical power for a German, thorough master of the German language, and an occasional preacher, who had time to elaborate his discourses. The scholastic type of preaching had been undermined, pietistic preaching had degenerated, and naturalistic influences were chilling the piety of the churches. Mosheim undertook the task of combining in his preaching a reasonable and intelligent orthodoxy, with devout religious feeling, a philosophic spirit, and a better literary form. He held on to the theology of the church, which he wished to defend against the unsettling influences of his day, but, although not a naturalist or rationalist or free thinker, he was strongly affected by the intellectual influences about him, and while he would not undermine, but rather defend, the teachings of the church, he would introduce into his preaching a more reasonable conception of Christianity and would apply it more fully to the practical interests of men. He preached to intelligent and cultivated audiences and suited his preaching to their needs. Like Tillotson, he was an apologetic preacher. He was at home in history, used the historical arguments, and appealed to the external evidences in his defence of Christianity. His humanistic tendencies are seen in the rational

methods of his defence, in the material he appropriated from secular sources, and in his literary style. He aimed at religious instruction, but it did not occupy so prominent a place as in the confessional school. Indoctrination is not the aim, for religious opinion is not the chief end. He did not linger in the restricted, ecclesiastical realm, but entered the broader world of human thought. He would bring his hearers to a life of religious reflection, not as the confessional preacher did by the expounding of church dogmas, nor as the Biblical pietists did by the exposition of Biblical material, and he sought to move the emotions, but not as the sentimental pietists did. He sought to move the mind, but in such a way as would move the feelings and the will. His aim therefore is distinctly ethical and religious. The sermon in his hands is less elaborate than the confessional sermon and more methodical than the pietistic sermon. The rational and rhetorical aim of the sermon demands good method, but the method must be simple. He was a topical preacher and demonstrated, as did Horace Bushnell, that in skilful hands the topical sermon may be in the best sense popular. Discussion and application are the two processes, as we find frequently in the preaching of the French Saurin and the English Barrow. But Mosheim illustrates preëminently the literary influences of his age. His style was vigorous, weighty, and dignified, but elegant as well and with a certain stateliness, like that of Reinhard. His diction was popular, for it was concrete and largely illustrative, and he was an orator as well as rhetorician. The logical interest was important, but the rhetorical was equally so. In the qualities named Mosheim marks a new era in German preaching. The best preachers of his day and subsequently were his followers. He did not reach the common people as the best class of preachers in South Germany did, but his influence with the educated and cultivated class was very great. Reinhard belonged to

the school of Mosheim and illustrated Mosheim's best qualities.

The defects of the extreme rationalistic school constantly revealed themselves as religious and literary influences gained ascendency, and by the end of the century it was already in process of decline. It had no adequate conception of the necessities of the religious nature in its emotional, spiritual, and æsthetic aspects. It supported a defective theory of the authority of reason, defective because it had a wrong conception of the nature of reason and because all the elements necessary to a reasonable mental judgment were not taken into account. It sought indeed to make religion reasonable, according to its narrow conception of reason. It endeavored to restore it to simplicity and purity and beneficence and sought what is universal in it. Against the narrowness, intolerance, and unnaturalness of traditional religion it brought a powerful appeal. It tried to understand human nature and to meet its legitimate demands. It was an age of new theories in education, and it discovered more natural and simple pedagogic methods. It began to get at the historic foundations. It had in its best estate a lofty moral ideal. It has been said that rationalism had a good religion but a bad theology, but in fact its theology was bad because its religion was inadequate. It failed to satisfy the higher nature of man. It needed Schleiermacher to cut at the root of it, by showing the indestructibleness of the religious nature. But it needed something more. Rationalism had a defective æsthetic as well as religious basis. It was the literary movement of the age, product indeed of its intellectual life, but out of harmony with its dry rationalism, that developed the æsthetic element in religion more fully than it had ever before been developed, and this came during the last part of the century as a phase of romanticism. Herder of Weimar, the friend of Goethe and Schiller, represented the æsthetic

element in its fullest measure and highest form. He was a rationalist and mystic combined, closely allied with the Illumination, yet devoted to the interests of religion. "He was not only," said Jean Paul Richter when Herder died, "a star of the first magnitude, but a whole group of luminaries in one." Kant was his teacher in philosophy and Lessing his literary progenitor. "Give me a great thought that I may quicken myself with it,"[1] he is said to have exclaimed on his death-bed, and the words disclose his prevailing intellectual aspirations. But against the hard and dry rationalism of his day he reacted as vigorously as Schleicrmacher. "Light, love, life," were the watchwords of his career. It was his task to open up the eternally fresh fountains of Biblical feeling and sentiment. He held attention to the immense wealth of Biblical literature which discloses in highest degree the æsthetic and religious spirit, and to its unity of life as well, and this is his great value for German preaching. He showed that "one will, one spirit, one power from the first word, 'Let there be light,' to the last, 'Even so come, Lord Jesus,' has led the ever rising God-willed course of mankind." "Leave," he says, "your physics and metaphysics at home, step reverently into the halls of glory, of all human culture, into the temple of the revelation of God, learn to read the Biblical writings, not as if they were modern books, but with the consciousness that they were written in an oriental spirit, in a language strange to us, and were in ideas and conceptions as widely different from ours as heaven from earth, and they will seem to you no longer like an antiquated book of fables and tales, and just as little a book of dogmatic legislation. Rather will you find here how the Father has nourished and guided upwards his children . . . I have far greater desire to know and apply the divine in these writings than to grub over the question as to the sort of it, and of its entrance into the

[1] Jean Paul Richter's "Campanerthal," 347.

souls of the writers. We do not understand how God works within our souls as in nature, and should we be able to fathom his sacred workings in the souls of his beloved? If you do not hear the sound of his step as the coming of a friend or of a beloved, but will measure it like a slave and grope in the dark, you will never hear his coming." [1] Here we have a man who was filled with the great thoughts and emotions and imaginings that bear sway in this book, and through him it became a new book to the men of his age. In this Biblical spirit he sought to better not only the preaching, but the catechetics and the liturgies of the church, and his influence upon secular pedagogy was strong. He was preëminently an educator. The influence of his Biblical æstheticism pervades his preaching, and he brought back the Biblical homily with new significance and in new form. "I became," he says, "a theologian only out of love to the Bible. In it I find the purest word of God, his speech to the children of men, the whole full Christian truth." [2] His conception of the preacher's function corresponds. "He is not a teacher of wisdom and virtue, but a preacher of religion, God's speaker, a prophet, who deals with what has life in itself, with piety, with life, with God." Here we have a new contribution not only to the preacher's work, but to Christianity itself. He mediates between the rationalistic and the mystical tendency. He touches the men of culture and the men of piety, and prepares the way for Schleiermacher. He is a counterweight to the dull orthodoxism, the barren rationalism, and the destructive criticism of his day, and he enriches German preaching on its æsthetic as well as religious side.

Another of the products of the literary and religious spirit of the age was Lavater of Zurich, who died in the opening year of the last century. He was a man of great

[1] Dr. August Werner's "Herder's Bedeutung in der Evangelischen Kirche." "Die Predigt der Gegenwart." Drittes Heft, 297, 1887.

[2] Dr. August Werner's "Die Predigt der Gegenwart." Drittes Heft, 273, 1887.

creative imagination, of most delicate poetic susceptibility, responsive to all that was best in his age and most productive in his use of it in the interest of men. So unique was he that he was called "A man of God without genealogy."[1] It was the "storm and stress" period, the period of intellectual and political revolution, and it made a most powerful impression upon him. He was educated in the school of moderate rationalism represented by Spalding, which gave him footing in the naturalistic and humanistic side of life, and served to moderate somewhat his wild poetic enthusiasm. Of the early period of his life he says, "My heart needed at that time no Christ, only a God to hear my prayer."[2] But later on Christ became the passion of his life. To him Goethe writes, "Thy thirst for Christ to me is pitiable." Yet he calls him "the best, greatest, wisest, heartiest of all mortal and immortal men whom I have known," and says of him that he has "the highest human understanding, combined with the most horrible superstitions.[3] These superstitions were in part his belief in the Biblical miracles, and on account of them Goethe broke with him. Lavater apprehends Christianity emotionally, as Herder æsthetically. His preaching was full of passion and dramatic power, like that of Whitefield. It swept over his audience like a whirlwind. His message was what men were longing to hear, and he was welcomed almost as a messenger from heaven wherever he preached. His poems were cherished by Wieland as sacred, and another German poet has called them "the cordial of his soul, his quickening, his joy and his consolation."[4] He was a philanthropist as well as poet and preacher, and his work for the poor in Zurich remains like that of Francke at Halle to this day. He made it a regulative principle of his life to do some specific work of pastoral benevolence

[1] Oehler's " Halte was du Hast," 148. Jan. 10, 1887.
[2] *Ibid.*, 145. [3] *Ibid.*, 145, 146.
[4] Oehler's "Zeitschrift für Pastoral Theologie," 4 Heft, 146, 1887.

each day, and almshouses, hospitals, and orphan asylums were the sphere of his special activity. As to the power of his preaching a contemporary compares him in persuasive effectiveness to Mirabeau, and Steffens, a well-known preacher of Copenhagen, spoke of him as follows: "As the sharp voice, the hollow, penetrating tones of the distinguished man were heard they made such an impression on me that I almost failed to hear his prayer. I was obliged to listen with strained attention to his discourse, if I would understand it. There was a deep, powerfully penetrating heart-inwardness about his discourse. It was as if I heard a voice for the first time which I had long desired to hear." [1] He was in the highest sense an experimental and Biblical preacher. His method was orderly, his diction poetic, his style fluent and energetic, and his oratory full of fire. He has told us his conception of preaching. "To make a sermon that pleases a great crowd, that is admired, imitated, bruited about, that is of very little account in itself. But a sermon that really edifies, really interests the heart and penetrates it with its warming power, while it illuminates the understanding, a sermon that leaves a lively searching sting behind it, that follows the hearer and in the hours of temptation, long after the sound of it has died away, comes up as it were dancing through the heart, a sermon that does not please, that stirs all the flesh in revolt against it and yet pleases, that cannot be kept out of the mind, nor refuted, openly found fault with perhaps, but cannot be otherwise than approved by the heart, *that* is the work of the wisdom, the spirit and the power of Christ." [2] We thus see that Lavater was an evangelistic preacher, like Conrad Rieger, but he was also a product of the culture as well as of the piety of his age.

The results of these movements of the age upon Chris-

[1] "Oehler's Zeitschrift," 4 Heft, 149, 1887. [2] *Ibid.*, 150.

tian preaching have already been touched upon, but we may appropriately attempt here a brief summary.

The awakened religious life secured for preaching especially a new subjective basis. It became the utterance of a new religious experience. It turned the preacher away from that which is external to the depths of the inner life, from a dogmatic to an experimental basis. It turned him from abstract to historic religion, and brought him into immediate connection with the nourishing sources of Christian piety. Preaching became more devout and spiritual, more emotional and ethical, aiming at the production of Christian character and the regulation of Christian conduct, and appropriating feeling and imagination as its instruments it became more rhetorically effective and realized definite and determinate results.

The awakened intellectual life secured for preaching a more rational basis, greater firmness of fibre and variety of tone, bettered its ethical as well as intellectual aim, and its structural form.

The Biblical movement secured for it a sounder exegetical basis, brought it back to a historic foundation, restored to it a more distinctly Christian quality, in the long run furthered its highest religious interests, and became tributary to a simpler homiletic method.

The literary movement elevated its tone, enriched its rhetorical quality, and preaching became more humanistic and less ecclesiastic, and at the same time less rationalistic and less subjectively emotional.

The chief defect of the preaching of the eighteenth century, a defect that was not wholly overcome, was that, in its defence of Christianity, it lingered too exclusively in the realm of external evidence. But as a basis for modification in the preaching of the nineteenth century, we have a better combination of the rational, the ethical, the spiritual, and the rhetorical qualities. By reason of this combination the preaching of the last century reached

the more effectively the mind, the conscience, the heart, and the will. Those influences did not bring full fruitage, but they were never wholly lost. They were foundations and prepared the way for what emerged later. But it was given to the century from which we have emerged to carry out into concrete practical results, under new conditions and in new combinations, those movements of the previous age. These and other influences have been bearing fruit, and only in the present day are they disclosing their full significance. The more important of those influences that emerged during the last century and that have secured for us a distinctively modern type of preaching it will be our purpose now to consider.

CHAPTER II

DOMINANT INFLUENCES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. The development of the physical sciences was the most notable phenomenon of the last century. The number of important scientific discoveries during that period, it is said, was nearly double the number in all previous centuries, and the changes in the conditions of human life during the last half of the century that resulted from these scientific developments were greater than in a thousand years before. The ground for it of course had already been laid. To know and to do deference to the constitution of things was one of the aspirations of the eighteenth century, and to a considerable extent of the two centuries preceding. Nature was one of its most familiar terms. To know its realities and to live agreeably to its laws was one of its regnant ideas, and reverence for its order had begun to be a prominent phase of its religion. Nature, therefore, was an object of eager investigation. It was human nature, indeed, that was the special object of study, and philosophy was more fully developed than science. Man was more fully known than the world in which he lives, and yet we have the large beginnings of physical science. Its great contribution was not a developed knowledge of scientific phenomena or a comprehensive grasp of scientific facts, but a spirit of research, a zeal for reality, the establishment of the principles of classification, the discovery of laws, and above all the establishment and vindication of the inductive or scientific method. The discovery and classification of physical phenomena on a

large scale, and a certain creative, a certain idealizing, activity in dealing with these phenomena which binds them into the unity of a vast system, belong conspicuously to the nineteenth century, and the influence of this scientific spirit has perhaps more strongly and more widely affected the thought, the tone, and the methods of the age than any other. The methods of science have had a dominating influence in all our modern thinking. We are obliged to use the scientific method in all reliable investigation. It has fostered respect for facts, undermined external authority, and developed the virtue of intellectual independence and integrity. Men learn to love the truth for its own sake and become fearless of the consequences of honest investigation. They learn to value exact knowledge, and the influence of this upon the education of idealists like Frederick Robertson is a notable phenomenon to which every preacher may well give heed. There has resulted a vigorous reaction against all slipshod methods of investigation, for scientific training is training in methodical habits of thought. It is the foe of all unverifiable assumptions, all intellectual crudeness and inaccuracy; and all mystical vagaries, all substitution of fancy for fact, have become evidential of an untruthful habit of mind.

It has prepared the way in the sphere of religion for a more adequate conception of the ever abiding, all-pervasive presence of God in the Universe. Science itself indeed may give us nothing more than the unknown and unknowable energy beneath all phenomena and lead us to nothing that is personal or spiritual. But it has given us a new universe, for it finds one great pervasive energy, one all-inclusive force that holds all things in unity and gives us an ideal order, and this very conception of an immanent energy readily allies itself with other sources of knowledge that contribute the conception of an immanent personal God. It is, however, the scientific habit of mind that is its greatest contribution. It is the cultivation of

this habit of mind that stimulates curiosity, that drills the faculty of thought, quickens the imagination, intensifies our powers of investigation, expands our intelligence, fosters a spirit of reverence as we gain deeper knowledge of the vastness of the material universe, and with the great scientist may lift us into a great ecstasy as we come to know ourselves as thinking God's thoughts after Him, but fosters also a spirit of modesty as we find the limits of our knowledge. The influence of all this upon the true preacher is evident. And it is this scientific habit of mind that to a large extent accounts for what may be called the naturalistic tendency so common in our day. I mean by this a certain bias towards the naturalistic explanation of all material phenomena and all forms of human experience, a tendency to enlarge our conception of nature, and to live and to do our thinking more completely within its boundaries. That this has become a prevailing habit of mind among the educated classes and is becoming more prevalent among the uneducated, there can be no doubt. It is in fact deeply rooted and widely pervasive in all classes that are at all subject to the influences of modern life. It is a distinctive characteristic of what calls itself modern culture. It runs back indeed into past centuries, but under the influence of the scientific habit of mind it had a most extraordinary development during the century just closed. It may take connection indeed with those views of the world which have always been held by deism, pantheism, and materialism. But that type of modern science which finds nothing beyond physical phenomena, which estimates the material universe as a closed sphere and therefore readily appropriates the materialistic, atheistic, or pantheistic, and sometimes the deistic world-view, has greatly furthered this tendency of thought and many other departments of learning have fallen into line. The older forms of deism, pantheism, and materialism have indeed

been fought down or lived down. Science has found a finer and a more delicate mechanism in the universe than the old view of the world ever knew, and the mysterious energy that pervades it is sublimated into a something that cannot be defined wholly in terms of matter or in terms of blind force. Men are not willing to be called materialists of the old-fashioned sort, nor are they quite willing to confound the subtle energy that is behind the universe with the universe itself. And neither theology, nor philosophy, nor science, in so far as these latter find God at all, wholly isolate him from the universe, nor do they completely identify Him with it.

But it is perfectly clear that men's conception of what calls itself the supernatural has undergone a good deal of change, and has left behind as an inheritance for our age a strong naturalistic bias. No thinking man in our day believes as lavishly in supernatural reality as the men of former ages. We all believe more cautiously and discriminatingly. As by a kind of mental, not to say ethical and æsthetic, habit, we are impatient of extra belief.

The problem of religion, in so far as it legitimately adjusts itself to the demands of science, is how to adjust the natural to the supernatural. The adjustment in our day has been made, not in the old way, by breaking down or suspending the order of the one, or by denying the reality of the other, or by effecting an unnatural or artificial combination of or compromise between them, but by bringing them into vital relations as parts of one great whole. The outcome of all this has been that the sphere of nature has won new territory.

Like all great movements of human thought, this has its bad side. A large and respectable portion of the educated community has lost faith in supernatural religion. It is untouched, or at least it has ceased to be strongly influenced, by the supernatural Christianity of the church.

Men regard themselves as awakening from faith in the supernatural as from an empty dream, or from the illusions of unreality. They are illumined; they are cleared up; they live in a disillusioned world. The only way to save Christianity at all is to throw the supernatural overboard. This assumption of the unreality of the supernatural men carry into their estimate of the historic Christ. Christianity is explicable only in terms of nature. If you scratch a naturalist of this type, you find a pantheist. This involves a small world-view, and one not correspondent to facts, so small and unreal, in fact, that it bears the marks of falseness, and it tends to lower the ideals of life. As men lose hold of realities which can only be defined as supernatural, whatever the character of the definition, the standards of life are lowered not suddenly but gradually. "Whenever," says Cairns, "Christianity has survived the flood of scepticism, and has flourished anew, its progress has been in direct proportion to its clear reassertion of its supernatural character."[1]

By detaching themselves from the best half of life, and that the most truly real, men are mutilating their higher natures and stifling the outcry of their deepest wants. The intellect is cultivated at cost of feeling and sentiment; supreme stress is laid upon an education and training that shall fit one for a material existence. Thus religion is discredited and the religious nature atrophied. "One world at a time," is the watchword of materialistic delusion, which means no world at all but the world we see. The world present and visible is the only world in fact, that vast multitudes know or care for. God is ruled out of His world. "The life that now is" is a complex whole within itself, and religion is of value at best only as an ethical system. All this is carried down into the beliefs and into the lives of those who are wholly absorbed in material pursuits, and into the lives of those still

[1] "Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century," Ch. VI, 279 ff.

farther down who are struggling with the bewildering contradictions and the crushing burdens and intolerable sufferings of existence, lost to the future life, lost to a higher and holier and more truly real world, lost to God, and so lost to self, caring only for "the life that now is," but lost to the best of it, and failing to win any smallest pittance even of its transient good. And here naturalism becomes a vulgar materialism and animalism, wild and grotesque, profane and ungodly. A portentous amount of this barbarism has intrenched itself in modern life, industrial, — commercial and political. Not infrequently it emerges under disguises, but here it is in its essence even in the refinements of secular culture. But wherever found, and in whatever guise, it is an element of barbarism.

We live in an age of colossal worldliness — of materialistic show and force and enterprise. Money, or rather the insane greed for it, is a dominating and corrupting and degrading power, especially in the nation of unbridled commercial ambition. The individual lessens and proportionately the forces of high intelligence and morality. Men in commercial life combine to achieve their ends of selfish greed by a species of low cunning and often of brute force; and countercombination is the result, and we find ourselves in the hands of a commercial and industrial democracy that has become an outrageous tyranny which threatens a reign of terror. Whatever other agencies or influences may be at work in the extreme socialistic tendencies that manifest themselves in almost all departments of associate life, they are ultimately naturalistic, or, more exactly, materialistic, in their source. They have their origin in the fierce and greedy fight for material existence.

We are returning to a reign of unintelligent and immoral force, or are moving towards that goal. The grand ideas of humanity and of the sacredness of the individual man and of individual rights, and of regard for the unblessed

section of the race, which were dominating conceptions and inspirations in the first part of the nineteenth century, in the latter half seemed to have lost their inspiring power. The brute element in man, and notably in the Anglo-Saxon race, is asserting itself. Commercial greed, backed by political jingoism and journalistic sensationalism, shows its contempt for inferior races; its contempt for those conceptions of human rights in which the American nation was born, and under the hypocritical guise of philanthropy exploits the islands of the sea and crushes the aspirations of their populations. All this involves a strange reaction from the higher ideals of life and from that larger and nobler view of the world and of human existence that is given in Christianity, and from that high moral and humanistic culture that is quite distinctly characteristic of the nineteenth century. With all its vastly beneficent influence upon human life, which no man can question or should wish to question, there can be no doubt that devotion to science in a one-sided and exclusive manner is dehumanizing. The loss of personality is a fatal loss in any sphere of education. Modern science has lost its grip of personality. It lives in an impersonal universe. Commerce with such a universe cannot nourish all the choicest experiences — all the choicest aspirations and longings and strivings — of the human soul. And in so far as it withdraws the student from the humanities, it fails to nurture and develop the spiritual nature, the great realities of the inner life become unreal, and Darwin's "atrophy" is one of the consequences. And when we pass from the thoughtful scientist to the masses of men, who without his intellectual resources and defences are willing to accept his materialistic conception of life and carry it out into the brute conflicts of commerce and industry, we have the naturalistic curse in its worst and most intensified forms.

To what extent and in what way the pulpit of our

age may have been influenced by this naturalistic tendency in its worst aspect, it may be difficult to say. That it has ever become consciously subservient to its most degrading forms no one probably will be disposed to affirm. But that it is in danger of being partially muzzled by the excessive commercialism of the age is something to be feared, and there can be no doubt that the task of resisting it and of attempting to rescue men from its malign influences is a most serious one.

But there is a better side. The left has its right. Nature has its claims. In large measure they are new claims. The necessary concessions to her have been made. The old supernaturalism has proved to be untenable. There are larger and more correct conceptions of the relations of God to nature as involved in our conception of Him as the world-ground. And supernaturalism stands on a firmer, because a more reasonable, and, if the expression may be used, a more truly natural, basis. A more reasonable conception of the relation of God to the world is the philosophical, theological, and religious victory of the thought of the past century, and to this victory physical science has made its direct or indirect and in either case immense contributions.

A more reasonable conception of the supernatural has influenced our apologetics. It has taken connection with the modern doctrine of evolution and has affected our cosmology. By enlarging our conception of the vastness of the universe, science has enlarged our conception of the character of God and of his relation to the universe, and by modifying our conception of the method of the universe, it has modified our conception of the mode of its origin and the processes of its development. It affects our conception of miracles and our defence of them. Miracles take their place, not indeed in the order of natural causation, as if from its own inherent force as mechanism it were able to produce

them, but in a world that is easily adjusted to them, because it is responsive to the world of spirit. Under the application of historical and critical methods of investigation the number of Biblical miracles has been reduced. We justify ourselves in making critical discriminations between the Biblical narratives of the miracles. The tendency to minimize, or at least to reduce the volume of the miraculous, even among so-called evangelical thinkers, is a somewhat notable thing, as if sometimes the problem were to determine how little we may believe in miracles and get on without denying historic Christianity. Even supernaturalists, like the saintly Neander, whose influence, like that of all modern mediators in theology, has been strong in the interest of a new and better type of supernaturalism, have shown this tendency to reduce the number of the Biblical miracles as far as possible. It is as if the problem were to limit our faith, not indeed in the reality, but in the scope of supernatural activities, and to hold as closely as possible to the common order of the world.

Reverent evangelical critics regard the miracles of the Old Testament as standing on hardly the same basis of historic evidence as those of the New Testament. Moreover, we accept the New Testament record of miracles largely because we accept Christ. They may support him, but he quite as effectually supports them. Men's estimate of the evidential value of miracles has been modified. It is no longer possible to accept Christianity chiefly upon the basis of a belief in miracles. But it is not unreasonable to believe in miracles upon the basis of an intelligent belief in Christianity. This changed point of view, which is the result of the transition from an objective to a subjective world of thought, is a mark of distinction between the faith of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The influence of this naturalistic tendency in its better aspect is seen in modern Christology.

What is historic and human and natural in the person and work of Christ is put in the foreground. It has touched our anthropology. It has affected our conception of revelation, yielding a more reasonable, because a more real, conception of the Bible as a historic record of God's self-disclosure in the redemption of the human race. It is in line with larger and juster conceptions of the kingdom of God, and involves more reasonable views of the method of its development as the kingdom of redemption and of its final consummation, and in this way it is in line with a larger confidence in the possibilities of human nature and with our modern philanthropic enterprise. All this surely involves a more reasonable habit of mind and yields a more defensible theology, and the preacher who has felt the power of this great movement and has adjusted his preaching to it is the one who most truly represents his age.

I venture still further to suggest that modern agnosticism, both on its good and on its bad side, is in some large measure a product of that naturalistic habit of mind that physical science has fostered. Doubtless a changed philosophic as well as scientific habit of mind is involved in the genesis of agnosticism. A new psychical as well as physical world has been opened to view, and in the processes of investigation new questions are raised. Old opinions are reversed and multitudes of problems are held in suspense. But just here it is the scientific genesis of agnosticism that holds our attention. Agnosticism is suspense of mental action or of mental judgment in the domain of religion. Men stop thinking before they reach ultimate results. There is a world of open questions in the religion of our day. The dogmatic method settles nothing. All men who think at all share in the general uncertainty. It is a common conviction, and it is a natural and just as well as an honest one, that religion has had too many unverified assumptions, that from limited data it

has indulged in too large generalizations, that upon an inadequate foundation it has speculated and theorized too much. The result is that men who hold their religious faith at all find themselves driven back upon a few bottom realities upon which they concentrate and to which they cling. Thus the sphere of religious knowledge is limited rather than widened. Men are after facts and they are inclined to stay with the facts, without pushing out as venturesomely as formerly into the realm of theory. They are often at a loss what to do with their facts after they have captured them, hence the import of reliable and verifiable facts in the domain of religion fails of adequate comprehension and interpretation. This agnostic tendency can hardly be a legitimate product of the scientific habit of mind as such, for the scientific habit of mind is not hostile to theory and thus not hostile to speculation. In fact, scientific investigators and speculators find it impossible to remain agnostic. That is, they must continue to think. They cannot wholly suspend judgment with respect to the import of their facts. They push out into affirmation. There is, after all, a good deal of guessing and a good deal of dogmatism in science. But when scientists come over into the domain of religion, they insist upon remaining agnostic; that is, they cease to think. The patronizing tone of agnosticism in our day is notable. Does it mean that this so-called ignorance of the fundamental realities of the universe is an affectation and that its patronage is arrogance veiling itself under the guise of humility? But the point in hand is, that the agnostic tendency is to a considerable extent the product of that naturalistic habit of mind which affects facts that belong to the world of sense, for these are the facts that have the greatest weight and significance. As by a kind of instinct it shuns the world of metaphysics and has no hold of the world of spirit. It has no firm, consistent theory about this realm. This habit of mind has intrenched itself

in theology, influencing it both favorably and unfavorably, and this influence reaches the pulpit. For instance, the nonspeculative habit in theology has gained ground. This is not without good results. But in its worst form it assumes that the mind is shut within the limited sphere of the world of sense, and that nothing can be known outside it, or outside what is immediately connected with it. With the limitation of the speculative activities even rationalism loses ground, for rationalism affirms the competency and supremacy of reason in reaching the realm of affirmation in religion. There is no easy belief in circles once known as rationalistic in the sufficiency and supremacy of reason. In fact, the agnostic tendency in its extreme form is the tendency to underestimate, even deny, the competency of the soul in the totality of its powers with respect to the formation of reliable judgments upon what lies beyond the border of the visible universe. In so far as the age is agnostic, in this extreme sense it is unreligious, for it is the very inner necessity of religion to make affirmation with respect to invisible and ideal reality. The Christian pulpit has been obliged to take account of all this, appropriating what is of value in it, but it is also obliged to counterwork it.

Pessimism is another product of this naturalistic habit of mind. For pessimism is a habit of mind as well as of feeling. It is a philosophy as well as an animus. It undertakes to justify itself in terms of reason for its habitual distrust of moral good and for its failure to find an ideal world. Good as the source and goal of all things it does not know, and it finds no moral order in the world; hence it is fatalistic. The world is an insoluble enigma. It is an "unintelligible world," a vast complex of blind forces without moral purpose or order. Under the influence of this fatalistic philosophy, the sense of sin and of personal accountability is diminishing. Such a conception of life readily suggests the question whether it "is worth living."

Men are discouraged with it, and put a low estimate upon it because they have lost the key to its significance. No one knows modern life who does not detect this spirit lurking in widely different classes of society. Nor is it difficult to detect its source. It is a product of modern secularism. It is only ideal reality that can save this empirical existence. The age that fails to lift its eyes to the hills will fail of help. It is a discouraging aspect of our modern world — this cynical indifference about life; the tone of dissatisfaction with it; the low estimate of it — which we detect in increasing numbers in widely different circles, especially in our larger metropolitan communities; the tone of hopelessness and of reckless defiance that marks the reaction of the industrial classes against the burdens and barriers of life is bodeful, and the occasion for it in the accursed greed of the comfortable lordlings of the material world is more bodeful still. The hope of the future life has been quenched in the breasts of myriads of God's poor, who were once anchored to a better world, and the life that now is has nothing for them in this hopeless struggle for existence. There is a tremendous strain upon human life. It is in a state of ferment. It is a time of keen intellectual excitement, of strong passions, of feverish unrest, of profound dissatisfaction. The modern world is living wildly and recklessly. It is the democratic age, the socialistic age, the age of stupendous worldliness. We are living upon the crest of that wave of revolution in political, social, industrial, intellectual, moral, and religious life that emerged in the eighteenth century. Those conceptions of the world and of life, of man, of society, of the relations of men, that then came to the surface are now working themselves out in concrete reality. What began in thought ends with the passions. That the naturalistic conceptions of life, which have been furthered by the development of modern science, have been tributary in some large

measure to these conditions of modern society is clear enough to him who sees aright. That all this variously affects the work of the modern pulpit, modifying it, intensifying it, tempting it into acquiescence or stimulating it into revolt, is but saying that the preacher is human and cannot detach himself from the humanity of his age. It is one of the grotesque humors of this modern pessimistic spirit that the men of commerce and of politics who have lost their grip of the moral order of the world and treat it with undisguised contempt should charge the preacher, who holds firmly to the divine order and reacts against their dishonor of it, with being a pessimist.

II. The developments of modern philosophy furnish a second prominent influence in modern thought and life that have powerfully affected the work of the Christian pulpit. For the sphere of so-called secular life, the developments of physical science are perhaps of all others most significant, although they are not without vast significance, as already noted, for the thought and life of the church. But for the sphere of religion the most fundamental, pervasive, and productive influences are found in the development of modern philosophy. Philosophy has always made itself felt directly or indirectly in the pulpit, because it has always influenced the theology of the church. This is especially true in many respects of modern philosophy, particularly as related to its theory of knowledge. It has had its influence not only upon the object and method of preaching, but especially upon its subject-matter. The results of the philosophic movement in Great Britain, France, and Germany upon the preaching of the eighteenth century we have already seen. The effect, whether good or bad, and it was both, of those earlier philosophical speculations was manifest in the introduction into preaching of a more distinctively rational type of subject-matter, a more daring speculative spirit, and on the whole a more orderly structural form. It

was a very direct influence and affected especially the apologetics of the pulpit.

Those earlier philosophic movements have been subjected to a great variety of modifying agencies, and the effect of modern philosophic thought upon the pulpit has been rather more indirect. The most powerful philosophic influence upon the preaching of our day is that of Kant, and following Kant, that of Hegel. Modern philosophy begins with Kant. It has revolutionized German theology. It has modified the theology of entire Protestant Christendom, and its influence can be detected in all types of preaching that are truly modern. It is an influence that is still at work and will be for ages to come. In time Kant belongs to the eighteenth century, the centenary of his death having recently occurred, but in influence he belongs to the nineteenth century.

The earliest form of the Kantian influence upon preaching was not salutary, nor has its later influence been altogether beneficial. Kant subordinated religion to morality, or rather substituted morality for religion, recognizing nothing that calls itself religion as having any valid claim upon man unless found strictly within the limits of the moral reason. He also introduced an element of scepticism into philosophic thinking, and in the sphere of philosophy was the father of modern agnosticism. And it is at just this point that modern philosophy joins hands with modern science in developing the agnostic spirit. Moreover, Kant accommodated Christianity to his philosophy and ethics and so perverted and caricatured it, and in this the Kantian preachers of the earlier period followed him, introducing a new type of rationalism into their preaching and eviscerating their teachings of what was distinctively Christian. Later preachers also who adopted the Kantian agnosticism have shown the same accommodating tendency and have perverted Christianity. This type of preaching that aimed supremely at the

exposition of Christianity according to Kant also lacked in proper homiletic aim, homiletic order, and literary form.

But the more indirect later influence of Kant has been much more salutary. The most beneficent of all philosophic influences upon the preaching of the nineteenth century was precisely that of Kant in modifying the theory of religious knowledge, and this is perhaps the greatest and most permanent contribution to theology of modern philosophy. Under its influence great changes have been wrought in men's conceptions of Christianity and in the evidences by which it is vindicated. In the eighteenth century, as we have seen, the evidences for Christianity, in so far as it was differentiated from what called itself natural religion, that is, the evidences for Christianity as a positive religion or the religion of revelation, were in the main of an external and inferential character. In the transition to the nineteenth century we pass from the external to the internal, and from the inferential to the more immediate evidences. Kant undertook to show that the speculative reason never gets us beyond the realm of subjective thought, or the realm of phenomena with which subjective thought deals, and consequently furnishes no evidence of the objective validity of its speculative conceptions. Of itself it can secure no solid basis of assurance that the great realities with which religion concerns itself — God, virtue, and immortality — are anything more than subjective conceptions, pure creations of the speculative reason. But he found evidence for these religious realities, which he identified with morality, in the practical or moral reason. A new foundation was thus laid for the application of the moral argument in the defence of religion. By showing the inadequacy in the sphere of religion of the speculative reason of which men in their pride of intellect had boasted, by showing its incapacity to grapple successfully with its problems,

the old type of deistic rationalism that was prevalent in the eighteenth century was dislodged. Moreover, the insufficiency of the merely external evidences of Christianity became the more apparent, and thus Kant cut under the orthodoxy as well as rationalism of his day. All this doubtless involved Kant in a new species of rationalism, for it involved the denial of the reality of any objective revelation as a basis of evidence for religious truth. Religion is found wholly within the limits of subjective moral experience and is thus identified with morality. Thus Kantianism has developed in two directions, in the direction of rationalistic scepticism and in that of a deeper religious faith. On the positive side it has secured new emphasis for the moral evidences of Christianity and has prepared the way for a better, a more complete, and a more confident recognition of the evidential value of other elements of subjective experience, the evidential value namely of all the native moral and religious instincts, impulses, and intuitions of the soul in their commerce with the realm of religion. There follows a fuller recognition of what calls itself in our day the religious consciousness as furnishing in its experiences a new basis of religious knowledge. Kant's supreme value is not in his scepticism with respect to the validating authority of the speculative reason, although in the inadequacy of human reason this has been of indirect value in accentuating the importance of objective revelation, but rather in his robust faith in the practical or moral reason. Thus Kantianism is of supreme significance in the moral realm. It directs attention anew to the moral elements in Christianity, and to the importance of the moral evidences in its defence. Kant's ethics has a touching point with the Christian teaching of disinterested benevolence and deals an effective blow at all forms of selfish morality.

Kant prepares the way for Hamann and Jacobi with their faith philosophy or the philosophy of immediate

spiritual intuition. Religious knowledge is a knowledge that is based on faith, a faith which is acceptance of the immediate testimony of the religious consciousness. He prepares the way for Schleiermacher with his religion of spiritual feeling and intuition, perhaps the most powerful influence in the realm of Christian theology during the last century. He prepared the way for Herder, who laid stress upon the æsthetic element in religion, and brought the literary spirit into relation with the philosophic spirit in the interpretation of historic Christianity. He prepared the way for neo-Kantians like Ritschl and Kaftan, who are followers of Schleiermacher as well as of Kant, and whose conceptions of the basis of religious experience are much broader than those of Kant, it being an emotional and æsthetic and spiritual as well as ethical experience. Thus the new rationalism of the neo-Kantian school, which discards all metaphysical defences for Christianity and rests its evidence upon subjective Christian experience, almost approaches the position of Christian evangelicalism and is in some sort and measure in alliance with it. This return to subjective religion which Kant has directly and indirectly so powerfully promoted has had a strong influence not only upon the subject-matter of Christian preaching, and especially upon its apologetic quality, but upon its tone, aim, and even its form. Because of it, preaching is more edifying and persuasive.

Kant prepared the way also for Hegel, who restored in new form the subjective rational element in religion, thus attempting to correct the defects of Kant on the speculative side. The influence of Hegel upon the Christian pulpit is not so manifest nor so permanent perhaps as that of Kant, but it is real and powerful. Religion is with Hegel a matter of rational experience as with Kant of moral, with Schleiermacher of spiritual, and with Herder of æsthetic, experience. God as the absolute is known in consciousness as an object of immediate thought.

He takes us out also into the broad domain of history and interprets Christianity historically as well as speculatively. Christianity is the historic evolution of the fundamental conceptions of reason. It interprets the eternal truths of reason. But it interprets them in historic forms that speak to the imagination. Philosophy deals with pure thought and reason is its organ. Religion deals with representative thought and imagination is its organ. The historic forms in which religion appears are not in themselves the eternal truths of reason, but they stand for, represent, and mediate them. It is one of the merits of Hegelianism that it seeks in terms of rational thought to get at the inner truth of those religious phenomena that have appeared historically in forms of the imagination.

All of these and other philosophic thinkers contemporaneous with and subsequent to Kant who sought anew to domesticate religion in the inner life as a form of subjective experience have exerted a powerful influence, especially upon the more prominent and thoughtful representatives of the modern pulpit. But the influence has reached them largely through the successors of these men of creative genius, who have interpreted and measurably modified their views, and not infrequently the influence has reached them through modern literature, which has interpreted in forms of imaginative representation their philosophic conceptions. As in the case of Kant it has not been a wholly beneficent influence, although in the long run the better influence has preponderated. Schleiermacher has reached the pulpit more effectively and beneficently through his disciples, who have corrected and modified his defective conceptions of religion and theology. There were prominent preachers like Claus Harms, whom Schleiermacher by his "Discourses" awakened to a new intellectual and religious life. But even he felt obliged to say, "He that begat me had no bread for me." But through such men as Neander and Ullman and Tholuck and Julius Müller

his influence, it is not too much to say, has reached the most intelligent preachers in all the communions of Protestant Christendom. In so far as Herder's rationalism fostered a defective faith in the reality of objective revelation it became an unfavorable influence. But of the value of his contribution to a higher æsthetic and religious estimate of the Bible there can be no doubt, and as little doubt of the extent of his indirect influence upon the most cultivated preachers of our day.

Hegel's influence also has been in two directions. No one has set forth with such biting sarcasm the tendency of the theologians and preachers of his day to Hegelianize Christianity as Strauss, whose first edition of the "Leben Jesu" was written from the Hegelian point of view. But even the pantheism of Hegel was a valuable counterweight to the jejune deism of the old rationalistic school; his contribution to the historic interpretation of Christianity was a valuable offset to the abstract religion of Kant, his faith in the rationality of religion was a valuable corrective to the agnosticism of Kant, and his influence upon speculative theologians like Rothe and Dorner and upon such a theologian as Samuel Harris, as well as upon such teachers and preachers as Professor John Caird, has certainly been of a very salutary character. We are likely to underestimate the influence of the great philosophical thinkers upon the modern preacher because we do not readily and directly trace the influence. But it is not the less real that it is remote and indirect, coming through representative theologians and through the forms by which it is interpreted in literature.

The philosophic movement in Great Britain was in some sort an expansion and modification of that in Germany. The German movement did not, to any considerable extent, directly touch the theologians of the British churches. Those who were immediately touched by it in many cases reacted against it. It was for the most part

through men of literary genius that it reached the churches.

The theology of Great Britain has been based on a defective conception of the relation of God to the universe. It was a defective supernaturalism. It put God at too great distance from His universe, and made the problem of His practical, working relation with it an extremely difficult, if not an altogether impossible, one.

It allied itself with the deistic point of view that prevailed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. God is outside and above the world, and can get into redemptive relation with it only by breaking into its order and suspending it. This externalizing of God involved the externalizing of religion. The internal evidences for Christianity, which are the choice possession of our age, evidences from the moral consciousness, from religious feeling and sentiment, from the adaptation of Christianity to the innermost needs of the human soul and the soul's response to it, which furnish a basis for value estimates, and thereby for the inner conviction of the reality and truth of Christianity, the religion of that period knew but little of. At any rate it did not figure largely in the defence of Christianity. If God is introduced to His own world in a supernatural revelation to save men, it is done by an act of violence. There is a shock in nature that arrests the attention of men, and this discloses a new presence and power, and only this is adequate to disclose God. Hence the argument, from miracle and from prophecy, which is the internal miracle, was the stock argument of the age. The change that has come is a change from what is external to what is internal in religion, from the experience that only approximates the reality of religion to what is most interior and essential, from external to internal evidence. We pass from arguments that appeal to "the faculty judging according to sense" to the testimony of the religious consciousness. This change in the theological point of view was possible

only because of a change in the philosophical point of view behind it, a change from the philosophy of sense to the philosophy of spirit. Kant and Schleiermacher, as we have seen, are the two great forces in the transition movement of Christianity, from the realm of the external to the realm of the internal. Pietism in Germany and Puritanism and later on Methodism in Great Britain had already made preparation for this change by laying accent upon the mystical element in religion, or upon religion as an immediate spiritual experience. German pietism influenced English Puritanism, and Moravian mysticism nurtured Frederick Schleiermacher as it modified the religious views and experiences of John Wesley. But the philosophic basis of pietism, Puritanism, and Methodism was unchanged. They restored a spiritual religion, but they needed a spiritual philosophy.

In England this new philosophic influence had its immediate centre in Samuel Taylor Coleridge.[1] Coleridge was preëminently a poet, and his method of approaching all subjects was the literary method. But he was a man of most comprehensive genius, a mystic, a theologian, and a philosopher. He was an Englishman with the soul of a German. He adopted Kant's distinction between the understanding and the reason and interpreted it in his "Aids to Reflection." He held, as did Newman, that the understanding, the "faculty judging according to sense," has only a negative use in dealing with the problems of religion. It can only defend what is known through the higher reason, which is the faculty that deals with the eternal realities of the universe. But he enlarged the scope of the Kantian reason, and interpreted it as covering the entire content of the higher intuitions and feelings and moral convictions of the soul and he is in some sort a combination of Schelling, Schleiermacher, and Kant,

[1] See Tulloch's "Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century," Ch. I.

sharing also the æstheticism of Herder. For him, religion is an inner reality belonging to the constitution of the human soul and is vindicated by the action of the soul in the totality of its higher powers. Its evidences are given in an intuitional, ethical, spiritual experience; and all this is a rational experience, for it is in harmony with the speculative reason. Christianity appeals therefore to the moral, spiritual, and rational constitution of man. The influence of Coleridge was one of the important agencies in Great Britain that carried Christian theology from the objective basis of inference over into the realm of subjective experience.[1]

The old Oriel School at Oxford represented by Whately had already been moving in the same general direction. But Whately was an Aristotelian rather than a Platonist, and he worked from the historical and critical rather than from the philosophic point of departure. It was the poet-philosopher, the Christian Platonist Coleridge, that laid the philosophical groundwork for a new and more spiritual type of theology. He had greater influence at Cambridge than at Oxford, and it was Cambridge that became once more the home of the broad churchman. Many of these broad churchmen were measurably familiar with German philosophy and theology, and all moved in their thinking along the same general line of subjective Christianity. Coleridge represents the broad church movement on its philosophical and theological sides, and Julius Hare and Frederick Maurice are in this closely allied with him. Whately was a practical man with strong critical tendencies. Arnold was a man of sturdy ethical spirit. Maurice was more highly speculative, a man of subtle theologic mind. Kingsley struck out into literature and the discussion of social questions. Thirlwall and Robertson were its great preachers, and Stanley the most influential ecclesiastic, of the new movement. There is a broad

[1] Tulloch's "Religious Thought," etc., Ch. II, 41.

church left-wing, but as represented by the men above named, the movement has proved itself to be in line with a genuine supernatural Christianity, and the influence has reached the dissenting bodies of England, the Scottish churches, and the churches of the United States.[1]

To trace any single influence upon the Christian pulpit is a very difficult task. Any influence operates in large measure unconsciously in its subjects. But the influence thus inadequately considered has become an undoubted inheritance of our age, and the pulpit has felt its power. It has furnished a new philosophic basis for Christian apologetics. It justifies the preaching of our age in dealing with those truths of Christianity that are most closely connected with Christian experience and which were, in fact, its original product, the truths that belong to redemptive religion. It is natural that the tone of preaching that makes its appeal to experience, that addresses the moral sense and the higher spiritual intuitions, should be changed. The very form also is modified. As being the utterance of life appealing to life, it is less argumentative and elaborate. It is more simple and more suggestive in quality, and more concrete and persuasive.

III. Another influence that powerfully affected the preaching of the last century, the full measure of whose significance the present day alone is disclosing, is the historical and critical movement. We have already seen that a new awakening of the historic spirit, new interest in historic studies, and new allegiance to the historic method was one of the characteristic movements of the eighteenth century. In the defence of Christianity, new interest in Biblical criticism was therefore necessitated. But it was the fuller development of historical and critical investigation in the last century that led to the abandonment of the abstract and speculative religion of English and French deism and

[1] See Pfleiderer's "Development of Theology in Germany and its Progress in Great Britain since 1825," 303 ff.

of German rationalism and that restored Christianity to its rights as a historic religion. Its influence in the German pulpit disclosed itself in two general directions.[1] In the pulpit of the liberal and mediating schools it brought various aspects of historic Christianity and especially the person and character of the historic Christ into fuller prominence and secured for preaching a more concrete, a more experimental and practical character. In the old confessional schools the historic movement awakened new interest in the historic creeds of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Thereupon followed, at the beginning of the last century, a type of confessional preaching that was substantially grounded in the old orthodoxy of the churches, but was considerably modified by the forces that were everywhere at work upon the pulpit, and especially modified in its Biblical quality. Claus Harms and Hengstenberg of Berlin were among the chief representatives of the new confessional movement. Harms was an erratic, individualistic genius, a preacher of great dramatic power and of a realistic habit of mind, who, although as much indebted to Schleiermacher as Newman to Thomas Scott, reacted against the extremely subjective character of his theology. Hengstenberg was as well equipped in the scholarship of his day as was the English Pusey, knowing all the currents of thought about him, was a skilful and masterful preacher of immense dogmatic force, and the pride and prop of his school. But his dogmatic and polemic temper turned all his scholarly resources into the interest of partisan intolerance and abuse. Various other influences besides the increase of fresh historic interest wrought in this revival movement as in the corresponding movement later on in the Anglican church, fresh interest for example in the Lutheran Reformation, whose tricentenary had been celebrated

[1] Lichtenberger's "History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century," I, Ch. IV; II, Chs. IV and V.

with great *éclat* among the churches, weariness with the disintegrating and unfruitful rationalism that had so long dominated the German mind, and on the other hand weariness with a purely subjective religion. There was also a new awakening of the patriotic life of the German people in connection with the disastrous political events of the day which was almost a new religious awakening. Of this new patriotic devotion the state took advantage and summoned the people to new allegiance to the church and its doctrines.

In the movement somewhat correspondent in England[1] we find prominent Oxford men at the beginning of the century, notably Whately and Arnold, who were historic students. Here, as in Germany, the historic movement advanced in two directions and became tributary to two opposite tendencies according to the theological predilections of its subjects. Among the questions in vigorous discussion at that time was that of the relation of the church to the state. New philosophical and theological conceptions involved naturally modified political and ecclesiastical conceptions. Historical criticism allied itself with these movements of thought, and various political and ecclesiastical problems were subjected to fresh investigation and vigorous discussion. It was in the broad church section of the Anglican church that these questions received most liberal construction and pointed the church in the direction of a sort of political ecclesiasticism. The broad churchmen called for a closer coördination of political and ecclesiastical and of secular and religious life. Prominent men in this school, like Arnold, turned their historical and critical studies into this interest and sought to broaden the foundation of the church. This movement secured for the broad church pulpit a wider range and a more distinctively ethical and humanistic character. It was

[1] Tulloch's "Religious Thought," Lecture III, 86; Pfleiderer's "Development," etc., 300 ff.

naturalistic and humanistic rather than ecclesiastical, theological, speculative, or dogmatic in its tendencies. This movement was in its humanistic aspects in line with the broader tendencies of the dissenting churches, and their preaching bore the mark, and still bears it, of range and catholicity and of ethical and humanistic cogency. This movement has also had an influence upon the preaching of the United States and its preaching bears the same general mark.

On the other hand the historic movement allied itself with the high church reaction, which became tributary to a new effort at the restoration of external church authority. It was a reaction against the subjectivity of the critical and philosophical liberals. It was born of fear that the church was threatened with a new type of latitudinarianism, even of infidelity and atheism, and high churchmen, represented notably by Newman, the master spirit of the movement, and its great preacher, turned their historic investigations towards ecclesiastical subjects, sought to carry the church back to earlier foundations, and to revive the moribund dogma of apostolic succession. It is a historic movement backward. The later ritualistic movement is but a practical application in the domain of liturgics of the resuscitated high Anglican conception of the church and the ministry. Both rest upon external traditional church authority. Ecclesiastical objectivity is the only escape from theological subjectivity, objective authority the only escape from subjective caprice.

Newman was in many of his instincts, particularly in his literary instincts, a modern man. In his brilliant diction he spoke most persuasively to the men of his time, and apart from the influences of modern thought and life Newman had not been. But there is an archaic note in his preaching. It is a voice from the past, not the voice of hope for the future. The preaching of high Anglicanism rings with the consciousness of the authority of the

church, and its dogmatic and archaic character still bears witness to the lingering influences of the dogmatic basis of the Anglican movement. And yet it is true that there were influences at work about this movement and in the movement itself, particularly of a religious character, that have resulted in a decided modification in the preaching of the high church. Mozley and Liddon, although high Anglicans, holding the dogmatic and ecclesiastical point of view, are in many respects modern preachers.

Biblical criticism as a phase of the modern historic movement has powerfully affected the work of the pulpit. It has a philosophical as well as historical basis, and it is an influence that has been at work for more than a century. The literary enterprise of our age and the practical interests of theology and of the church have also been tributary to its development. That its results have not all and always been beneficial will hardly be questioned. But there are beneficent results and they are manifold. It has enlarged and enriched the preacher's knowledge of the Bible and increased the amount as well as bettered the quality of Biblical preaching. It has modified his conception of the Bible as a basis of authority, thus involving his conception of revelation and inspiration. Even if his attitude towards the higher criticism so called is unfriendly, he is obliged to modify his exegetical basis, so that it may be claimed without question that whatever may be his school the modern preacher has a more intelligent and tenable conception of the Bible and a better homiletic use of it.

The chief interest of Biblical criticism has centred in historic Christianity, and especially in the person of the historic Christ. Its chief problem has been how to interpret the phenomena of his earthly life, for our conception of the historic Christ involves our conception of historic Christianity, and Old Testament criticism, as a religious interest at least, is of chief importance in its bearing upon

the New Testament record of Christ's life. The earlier rationalistic criticism doubtless was a destructive influence and wrought unfavorably in the work of the pulpit. But the later type of criticism has shown itself more anxious to conserve the interests of the religious life, and has been tributary to better homiletic results. It may be claimed, therefore, that Biblical criticism has in the long run shown itself to be favorable, indirectly at least, to the higher and more permanent interests of historic Christianity. Results have shown the extreme difficulty of explaining the phenomena of Christ's earthly history upon a purely naturalistic basis. It may be questioned whether the idealism of the later critics, in so far as they undertake to rule out the supernatural from Christianity, and from the person of the historic Christ, is any nearer the solution of these problems than the crass naturalism of the earlier critics. The Christian pulpit has accepted the positive results of Biblical criticism and has in the main rejected its negative results. Competent Biblical students, imbued with the historic spirit and following the historic method, are found in all Christian communions. They are found not only in Germany and France and Holland but in the Anglican church among all schools, among the Scottish and Dissenting churches and in the churches of the United States. There is not only a better type of Biblical preaching but a firmer grasp of historic Christianity and a more practical and effective method of interpreting and applying it.

IV. Another influence that has wrought effectively and beneficently upon the modern pulpit is a newly awakened literary spirit. Any significant movement of thought and life is sure sooner or later to disclose itself in the literature of a people, and its influence will soon appear in the work of the pulpit. The development of modern German literature illustrates this. It took connection with the awakening of the historic spirit and revived interest in historic studies, while at the same time it furthered the historic

movement. Modern Biblical criticism is literary as well as historical. This literary movement took connection in the early part of the last century with the newly awakened intellectual life and especially with the newly awakened patriotic spirit of Germany and was of a strongly patriotic and distinctively German character. It was a phase and a perpetuation of the eighteenth-century humanism, and took the name of romanticism. Goethe and Schiller were its most prominent representatives, but it included a large number of lyric poets like "Novalis," whose poetry was of a strongly patriotic and religious character. To this influence Schleiermacher became subject. His preaching, especially in the earlier period of his career, was notably influenced by the romanticist spirit. Under the influence of Schleiermacher and others of a like tendency, the humanistic spirit has wrought productively in the German pulpit, securing for German preaching a more distinctively Christian type of subject-matter, as dealing more exclusively with historic Christianity, a more earnest and sympathetic tone, a simpler homiletic method, and a more suggestive literary quality. The literary culture of Germany has also taken connection with the discussion of educational problems and the problems of social science. As a result German preaching has become somewhat more distinctly ethical and philanthropic.

It discloses more of the broad, humane spirit that is the characteristic of the age. It deals somewhat more largely with questions of human interest. The age of dry, cold, rationalistic preaching has vanished, and German preaching is more human and more responsive to the interests of men.

The development of modern English literature is not altogether unlike that of German literature, but it dates from a later period. It is a product of philosophical, historical, and critical influences. In the first quarter of the last century there was a notable quickening of literary

activity and modification in its character. It was a movement from the realm of the objective in thought to the realm of the subjective. English literature in the eighteenth century, as we have seen, bore the mark of the externality, the objectivity, of the age. It bore the mark of the deistic philosophy. Pope was the representative of the literary objectivity of the eighteenth century. Coleridge, Wordsworth, Carlyle, Tennyson, Browning, are representatives of the literary subjectivity of the nineteenth century. They bear the marks of a new philosophical, historical, and critical movement. If Pope and Johnson were Christian deists, Coleridge and Wordsworth were Christian pantheists. The influence of this new literary spirit soon reached the pulpit and it lingers in it to-day. Even in High Anglicanism the influence was felt. Keble and Newman were men of literary genius. The "Christian Year" is a product of the new inspiration. Newman was not only a prose writer upon religious, theological, and educational subjects of matchless elegance of style, but a poet of rare subtlety of thought, strength of feeling, and beauty of diction. Widely as these men diverged from the influences that lay behind this literary movement, apart from them they had not been. The philosophic basis of the Anglican movement, so far as it had any such basis, although claiming a certain support in the spiritual philosophy of Coleridge, was still of an antiquated type, and fell into line with its advocacy of external authority in religion. Even Newman, with all his brilliancy and power as a preacher, is not the best pulpit representative of the literary movement of the time. It reached its best and most characteristic results in broad church Anglicanism. Coleridge, as we have already seen, was a poet as well as a philosopher and theologian, and his prose writings are of the semi-poetic, suggestive, rather than of the scientific and elaborate sort. Wordsworth gathered about him a group of men who were intent upon introducing a new spirit into English literature. These men

were not all affiliated with the broad school of the Anglican church. Wordsworth himself was a high churchman. But they all became in a way tributary to the broad church movement. All the broad church preachers, Frederick Robertson preëminently, were largely the product of this literary movement. Carlyle, especially, who represents modern literary subjectivity in extreme individualistic form, has exerted a powerful influence upon the modern English pulpit. His literary crusade against cant, conventionalism, externalism, and institutionalism, and all manner of unreality in religion, his proclamation of the sacredness of the individual soul and life, of the dignity of work, and the moral necessity for it, and of the possibilities of personal achievement, have borne good fruit among English churchmen, among the nonconforming preachers, and among the preachers of the United States. The influence upon American preachers is scarcely less than upon English, and as real. Without Coleridge, Wordsworth, Carlyle, and Tennyson we should never have had the Frederick Robertson we know, the most characteristic representative of the historical, critical, literary, not to say philosophical and scientific, influences of the age that appeared in the English pulpit during the last century. Nor should we be able otherwise to account for some of our most influential modern American preachers.

V. A newly awakened religious spirit is another potent influence in the work of the modern pulpit. It was perhaps the most powerful direct influence upon a portion at least of the Protestant church, especially in the early part of the nineteenth century. Every great awakening from within of the human spirit is likely to disclose itself in two aspects. It is an awakening to intellectual and to spiritual aspiration. It is a philosophical and a religious awakening. As the intellect revolts from the dominance of the senses and domesticates itself within its own inner world of reflective intelligence, so the religious spirit passes from

the realm of sheer external authority and finds its home once more in the realm of the inner spiritual life. Harnack has directed our attention to this phenomenon in the rise of scholasticism.[1] To the intellectual corresponds the religious aspect. The awakening of the mind involved also the awakening of the heart and reversely. Anselm represents the movement on its intellectual side, Bernard on its spiritual side. The one is a philosopher, the other a mystic. The mystical as well as the philosophical spirit has always found a home in modern Germany. Without the mystical spirit, or the religion of the inner life, the Reformation would have been impossible. Fundamentally it was a movement of religion from its external, institutional, dogmatic form back to its home in the realm of the spirit. Among the two most profound and potent influences in the modern church are philosophic thought and mystical piety, and both find their home in Germany. The one influence has reached the church indirectly, and largely through literature, the other directly by the agency of men of religious genius. Kant was the great representative of philosophic idealism, or of the subjective principle in speculative thought. Zinzendorf was a prominent representative of religious idealism, or of the subjective principle in the domain of religion. Schleiermacher, the disciple of Spinoza and of Kant, was also in his early years associated and allied with the school of Zinzendorf. In him we find the meeting point of philosophic speculation and of mystical piety. He was the great philosophic mystic of his age. In the post-Reformation, as in the pre-Reformation, the mystical piety of Germany appeared in various types. But now at last there emerges in Schleiermacher[2] a new type of philosophical and humanistic mysticism, — mysticism enlarged, enriched, and intellectually vindicated by

[1] "History of Dogma." Translated from the 3d German edition by William M. Gilchrist, B.D., Vol. VI, 23 ff.

[2] For Schleiermacher's significance for the modern pulpit, see "Representative Modern Preachers," Ch. I.

the power of a great speculative mind. It was the influence of this new type of mystical piety, in which philosophical, literary, and religious elements were blended, that secured for Schleiermacher his ascendency over the German people and which proved to be one of the most potent agencies in undermining deistic rationalism, by laying a firmer foundation for the rights of religion within its own sphere. It enlarged men's conception of the true basis and the real nature of Christian knowledge. It gave religious experience a broader scope and laid the foundation for a new type of evangelicalism in the German churches. It was one of the sources of the mediating school that produced men like Tholuck, of whom mention will be more fully made later on, whose preaching was characterized by the intelligence of the theological thinker, the insight and learning of the Biblical scholar, and the devout feeling of the Christian mystic. It infused new life into the German pulpit. It affected all schools in the German church, — evangelical, liberal, and confessional. It has intensified and perpetuated the strongly sympathetic and genuinely sentimental character of German preaching. With the ethical element of Kant or the rational element of Hegel even German liberalism combines something of the mysticism of Schleiermacher. Even those schools, like the Ritschlian, that decry mysticism in religion are thriving upon the results of it. The rationalism of the German pulpit has been thoroughly modified by it, appearing in a wholly new form and always with a more distinctively religious tone. It was during Schleiermacher's life that the orthodox confessionalism of the German church underwent a decided change. A variety of agencies indeed contributed to this result. They were in part historical. They were also patriotic and political, as well as ecclesiastical and dogmatic. They involved, doubtless, in a measure, reaction against the extremely subjective quality of Schleiermacher's movement. But the tone of devout

religious feeling, the pietistic quality which characterizes the confessional preaching of the modern German pulpit, is due in large measure to the more distinctively religious movement of the age, by which the religious life of the German churches was greatly enriched and strengthened.

The moral and religious life of the churches of Great Britain also was greatly enriched and strengthened in the last century, and the pulpit won new power. The results of the great awakening under the Wesleys and Whitefield, whose initiative, as we have seen, belongs to the eighteenth century, were felt in the British and in the American pulpit as well during the following century. The pulpit of the entire English-speaking world would have been far inferior in spiritual and ethical effectiveness but for that awakening. It involved the emancipation of religion from externalism and institutionalism, and its return to its home in the heart of man. The Wesleyan movement has a certain affiliation with the pietistic movement in Germany. It shares with Moravianism its doctrine of the indwelling of Christ, the witness of the Spirit, its vivid representations of the sufferings of Christ by virtue of which he becomes the ground of justification, its doctrine of faith, repentance, and conversion, some of its ecclesiastical customs, and its ascetic habit of life. As already suggested, the Wesleyan movement contributed but little to the thought of the Christian pulpit. It has indeed coöperated with other agencies in enriching the subject-matter as well as tone of modern preaching, and illustrates in a way the power of a new religious life, under favorable conditions, to quicken and enrich the mental life. But it was not a movement of thought. The new spiritual life worked largely through the old forms of thought. But Wesleyanism must be accounted as the greatest moral and spiritual force of the last century. It has reached classes that otherwise had not been reached, and it has leavened other churches than the Wesleyan with its spiritual power. All the nonconforming

churches of Great Britain have been enriched by it. It in fact rescued the Puritan churches from spiritual decay and possible death, and the ethical and spiritual cogency of their preaching attests its perpetual inspiration. The philanthropic and missionary character of modern English and American preaching secured from it an impetus which has never been lost. The evangelical branch of the Anglican church was most directly influenced by the revival movement, and has perpetuated something of its evangelical spirit. It may have lost something of the freshness and reality of its evangelical and evangelistic tone, but it is still the home of evangelical piety. No branch of the church is more fruitful in Christian benevolence, and its preaching is of an earnest and practical sort. Even high church Anglicanism, from which it sprang, has felt its power. Many of the leading preachers of the high church school have received permanent influence from the representatives of the evangelical movement. It was to Romaine, the evangelical, that Newman traced his conversion, and it was to Thomas Scott that he owed his soul. And Frederick Robertson, nurtured in the evangelical school, but in a sort affiliated with high Anglicanism, perpetuated in the established church much of the spirit of the great awakening.

It is true that apart from other influences — intellectual, ethical, social, literary — that belong characteristically to the last century, coöperating with the newly awakened religious life, it would never have accomplished the best results in modifying and enriching English and American preaching. The introduction especially of a new type of philosophic thought and of a new literary spirit after the religious movement was pretty well developed is of especial significance. But on the other hand, apart from it, all these influences would have failed of best results.

VI. It remains to consider the influence of our complex and practical modern life upon the preacher's work. The

modern pulpit is confronted not only with changed theories and sentiments, but with changed conditions. The thought and sentiment of the age reach the pulpit largely through its practical life. Ideas, sentiments, and feelings embody themselves in concrete forms and work themselves out in concrete results, and it is these results that to a large extent dominate the pulpit, even after their sources have become somewhat obscured. Practical life in general has great influence in quickening and regulating reflective life, and thus it influences the preaching of any age. We see this in the development of church life. The theology that is most available for the work of the church, most preachable, has developed with the life of the church. In the order of thought and time, Christianity as a revelation of God may exist before its concrete embodiment in the church. But without the living church Christianity would never have developed either on its reflective or on its practical side. Note the influence of the practical life of the church upon the preaching of the apostolic age. It is a practical, not a scientific interest that dominates it. There was no scientific theology in the strict sense behind apostolic preaching. Even Paul, the best equipped theological thinker of the apostolic church, discusses only such theological questions as are thrust upon him by the practical conditions and needs of the churches, and with chief reference to the furthering of those interests. The weightiest theological discussions are incidental and are suggested by existing church conditions. Paul was a skilful dialectician, but his dialectic bore the mark of practical life rather than of abstract thought. His discussions are simple, unconventional, practical. All this indicates the power of actual life and experience upon the apostolic interpretation and application of Christianity. It would be unseemly and idle to depreciate the practical results of scientific thought in the domain of religion. If a science of theology is possible, it must be as really important as any other science,

but after all its value depends upon its quality. And it must be conceded that the best products of theologic thought have been those in which the life of the church and human life in general have influenced it. It has deteriorated when it has been divorced from life, and the church itself has deteriorated. Theology has become hard, dry science, and so defective even as science. Divorced from the feelings and affections and perhaps even from the deeper moral convictions and so from true rationality, it has become a one-sided, a speculative, abstract, and unreliable product. It has sometimes found its way into the hands of teachers and preachers who have lived in solitude, remote from ordinary human life, out of touch with the living world, with but little knowledge of men and of the realities of life about them, and what wonder that the preaching of such men, who have substituted a theology for a message, should fail to find permanent response in human nature! Rationalism and orthodoxism are both unsound manifestations of scientific thought in so far as they deal solely with theological abstractions and are divorced from the concrete realities of life. The pulpit will always suffer when thought is divorced from life. A healthy pastoral life is always necessary to the most effective and helpful preaching. It not only rescues the preacher from unfruitfulness, but often saves him from the assaults of scepticism. A sound practical life is necessary to a sound faith. He who holds the faith aright holds it "in a good conscience."

The contact of the modern pulpit with the realities of life differentiates it to a considerable extent from the pulpit of former periods. The subjects with which it deals are of more vital interest. Its spirit is more democratic and human, its object more practical, its methods more concrete and realistic. We call this a practical age, but it is a mistake to suppose that therefore people are not interested in theology nor in the introduction of theology

of the right sort and in the right way into the pulpit. Doubtless they are not interested in the technique of theology nor in the dogmatic method of presentation, which have no proper belonging in the pulpit. But they are interested in the great problems of religious thought, for they are the most important questions of practical life and as such they are readily domesticated even by the average human intelligence. But what men are after to-day, is a working theology. When practical life, as conditioned by its relation to the world of reality, deteriorates, then genuine interest in the great questions of theology deteriorates. Look at the oriental churches. They have a dead pulpit, out of touch with life, and a stagnant theology. Intelligent missionary enterprise in our day stimulates interest in the great questions of theology. The best missionaries are those who are interested in the presentation of Christianity to the actual needs of men and to the conditions of life as they find them. Our attention has often been directed to the fact that political institutions have influenced the reflective life of the church and have impressed themselves upon its theology and its preaching. We have been told that the practical life of a democracy does not naturally develop a creed like that of Athanasius, or of the Westminster divines, or a type of preaching such as was based upon it. The theological imperialism of Augustine, or of Calvin, could hardly have been an American product. Modern democratic life is largely responsible for the disintegration of Augustinianism and of Calvinism. It is claimed that Calvin's scientific theology was influenced by the imperialistic habit of mind which was the product of a past age, but it is evident that his practical theology was influenced by the practical needs of the churches and by the democratic spirit that had been quickened by the Reformation. His practical theology is less imperialistic than his scientific theology. Fortunately for the churches, his preaching

was often more strongly influenced by practical life than by his own speculative theology, and he was a pulpit teacher of great practical power and worth.

The recent agitation in the Presbyterian church for a change in the Westminster Confession did not originate solely in a scientific interest. It was not merely the strong thinkers of the church who had become subject to a new scientific impulse and were thereby moved to agitate a change. It came largely from the rank and file. It was a movement of life, not solely of thought. The confession was not only out of harmony with the thought of the age, but what is of more importance, it was out of harmony with the life of the age. The revision movement was a product of practical need. It was an outcry of spiritual and ethical, as well as of mental, want. It is life, not purely speculative thought, that discloses the defects of theological theories and that forces a change. A theological movement, like other important movements, must be set in the slow course of historic development in order that its defects may be discovered, and it is not abstract speculative thought that makes the disclosure. It is life that tests all things, throws off what is imperfect, rescues and reincorporates the larger and purer truth. Note the parallelism in the realm of the physical sciences. Modern industrial life has wrought most powerfully in these sciences. The demands of "applied science" have quickened and regulated the modern spirit and method of scientific investigation. Scientific discovery finds an incentive in the practical spirit of the age. The most practical is the most inventive nation. The workshop is behind the scientific school, "Necessity is the mother of invention." It is a needy church set in a needy world whose mighty forces are playing upon and in and through it that quickens and regulates the pulpit that is set to meet those needs. It is the great living, restless, needy world whose voices reach most potently the man who would help his fellowmen.

The two great subjects of investigation during the last century were nature and man. Physical science and anthropology have revolutionized the modern world. Their most significant contribution to the modern pulpit, as has already been suggested, is not new material for the sermon product, nor a new method of thought, nor a changed habit of mind, although all this is involved, but a new world. They have entered the domain of practical life at every point, and their developments have revolutionized the conditions of human existence. It is hardly possible to overstate the effects of this upon the preacher's task. The pulpit is confronted by changed industrial and commercial conditions that have immeasurable significance for its work. Anthropology coöperates with science in its revolutionary work. Social and political changes ally themselves with those that are industrial and commercial in thrusting new tasks upon the pulpit. The democratic spirit has invaded all nations where modern life has free development. The relations of classes have changed. New social, political, and industrial problems are before the world. The preacher may misinterpret their significance for his work, but he is not permitted wholly to lose sight of the facts. Properly influenced by the facts, his preaching will have a vitality and a forcefulness unknown to the stiff, respectable pronunciamentos of the pulpit of the eighteenth century.

There are four prominent and leading tendencies that largely dominate our complex modern life. They are impulses, they are sentiments, but they are based upon theories that press for practical recognition in the pulpit. One is what may be called the realistic tendency. I mean a regard for the reality of things, respect for facts, impatience with unverified and unverifiable speculations, intolerance of dogmatic assumptions and pronunciamentos, the reign of common sense. The modern world, indeed, is not bereft of idealism. It were in a hopeless condition without it. The higher element in English and American

Puritanism is not lost, but the realistic, the practical, the common-sense element asserts itself and bears sway. Of course there are visionary people enough. Great masses are subject to old delusions that take new form. But the modern man, the man who is most completely under the dominance of the modern realistic habit of mind, has large use for common sense. He is intolerant of the pulpit crank and of the visionary, impracticable, over-speculative sort of preacher.

The ethical impulse is also strong. I do not mean that the modern world is preëminently moral. In many fundamental aspects it has perverted the morality of Christ and has become pagan and brutal. I mean rather that in all our higher thinking ethical considerations clamor for recognition, and judgments of moral value must find a place in our theories. The ethical tendency demands that life, not thought, shall be put first. If in previous centuries the pulpit has put dogma first, and made it supreme, it now puts reality first. Put dogma first and the church in the end will suffer. From a reign of confessionalism we get by a strange recoil rationalism. Put life first, put practical, ethical, spiritual interests first, and the church thrives. The significance and value of the ethical spirit upon the Christian pulpit cannot be overestimated. Christianity appeals to the moral nature. Faith must be held "in a good conscience." It is no longer possible to preach upon the basis of alleged external authority doctrines that violate the moral instincts. It is indeed possible for men who violate the fundamental principles of Christian morality to hold standing in the Christian church and to be honored as Christian philanthropists, but the higher moral instincts of the age are against them, and they will not escape the higher moral judgments of mankind.

The philanthropic spirit is also an inheritance of the age. Changed conceptions of the character of God and

changed estimates of the worth of man are involved in it. As a result the sentiment of mercy has been largely developed. As a single illustration of its effects upon preaching, note the modification of inhuman conceptions and harsh statements of doctrine. Why is it that doctrines that were once preached with overwhelming power would now be perfectly powerless, would even awaken mirth? Why is it that the preacher cannot present the doctrine of future punishment as Edwards did? Why is it that in some religious bodies the preacher has no contact with large sections of the church confessions, or if he touches them at all, it is only to modify them or explain them away or repudiate them? Many influences have been at work in modifying men's theological conceptions and beliefs, but one of the most potent influences upon the preacher in his presentation of the severer doctrines is the fuller development of the sentiment and feeling of human compassion in our time.

The disposition to enlarge our conceptions of the sacredness of all human life is another tendency of our time. The distinction between the sacred and the secular is a subjective and empirical distinction. Interpreted as by the true significance of life, there is nothing that is not sacred, and nothing that has any right to call itself other than sacred. From the world of ideal reality the boundary line between them vanishes. Of course it is necessary to the welfare of the world that a distinction should be made between the sacred and the secular as empirical realities, for the distinction between the principle of holiness and the principle of sin must ever remain, until sin is vanquished and holiness alone remains, or until the sacred in idea has become the sacred in actuality. There is therefore always a place and a function for the churchman who makes a sharp distinction between the sacred and the secular, who regards it as profanation to mingle the sacred with the secular, who would therefore isolate the church

and would work from without down upon the world in the way of conquest. There is also a place and a function for the churchman who distinguishes between the sacred and the secular in the interest of subjective piety, who would isolate piety itself, as well as the ordinances of the church from the world, in order that it may protect itself and keep itself pure and so work the more effectively upon the world. But it is evident that both of these conceptions are associated in some way with the ascetic view of life, and that, save in a very limited degree, they are not in harmony with the temper of the time. It is evident that these views, carried to their logical extreme, must result in a very different attitude toward the world at large from that of the churchman who maintains that all is sacred that pertains to the welfare of man, and that all human interests are hallowed interests. It is the broad churchman, not the high nor low churchman, that is most fully in line with the spirit of our time. It is not my purpose to note the influences that have wrought this change in the conception of life. It is enough to say that it is with us, and as a result our conception of the kingdom of God has been enlarged and enriched, and in this comprehensive form has become one of the dominating conceptions of the age. That form of the social organism, therefore, that has monopolized the term "sacred" (the church) is but one of the agencies of the kingdom of God and is not identical with it, and that form of it we call secular is but another agency of that kingdom. Both are necessary to represent the complete conception of the kingdom of God. All, therefore, is sacred as relating to the welfare of men, and to the furtherance of the kingdom of God. The effect of all this upon Christian preaching is evident. The separatist theory, the semi-ascetic conception of life, will inevitably result in a type of preaching that rules out of the pulpit all commerce with the great living questions of secular life, will become dogmatic and ecclesiastical and unethical or sentimental or

pietistic, laying undue emphasis upon subjective states of feeling. It is clear enough that the future is with the preacher who gives his message a wide range, who forces it to enter every domain of human life, and who interprets to men the religious significance of their life, in all its varieties of experience. It is the revolution, not only in modern theories of life, but in modern conditions of life, that has forced this recognition from the preacher.

CHAPTER III

PROMINENT CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERN PREACHING

To characterize the preaching of any age, even with respect to its most salient and obtrusive features, is no easy task. It is perhaps especially difficult to characterize the preaching of our own age. The complexities of modern life have resulted in the introduction of new varieties in the types of preaching, and this variety, which is itself one of its distinctive marks, makes it the more difficult to characterize it otherwise. Add to this individual and ecclesiastical peculiarities, and diversities of culture, race, and nationality, and the task becomes still more complicated. But there are certain salient features in all preaching that is entitled to call itself modern, and to such it will of course be necessary to confine ourselves. They are prominent in the preaching especially of Protestant Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. In the previous chapter I have endeavored to lay the foundation for our estimate, and if at points I have anticipated the subject of this chapter, it was involved in the necessity of the case, and need not condition needless repetition. It seems necessary to group and discuss these characteristics independently.

I. We shall hardly be mistaken if we recognize its experimental quality as that which is most significant and distinctive in modern preaching. Preaching is in some comprehensive sense a product of the preacher's experience and it appeals to some form of experience in the hearer. By this it is not implied that the preaching of

all former periods has lacked the experimental note. No real preacher in any age ever uttered truth that was wholly foreign to him, that had not touched his inner life, that had not been appropriated and domesticated in some form of inner experience, and that did not aim to produce something corresponding in the inner life of the hearer. No true preacher, however complete his allegiance to an external authority, whether of an inspired church or of an inspired book, as an objective basis for the verification and vindication of the truth he proclaims, has ever failed to find some response to that truth in his own inner life. That is not preaching which consists in retailing objective truths that have never touched the life of the soul. A man may teach, he may attempt to interpret opinions to which neither his intelligence nor moral conviction nor feeling responds. But this is not preaching. There has, perhaps, in some periods of the history of the church been a substitute of such teaching for preaching, but it must always be unfruitful and it has no place in the Christian pulpit in any age. Doubtless the preachers of the early churches accepted as normative for their faith what was to them an inspired and fixed apostolic tradition, but they appropriated its truth in their own souls, and became witnesses not only for the apostolic tradition, but for personal experience as well. The mystical preachers of the Roman communion, indeed its true preachers of every school, have accepted, sometimes with modifications indeed, but honestly, the authority of an infallible church as normative for their faith. There have been but few preachers who can compare with the giant Great Hearts of that church, in the completeness with which they appropriated in their sympathy, if not in their intelligence, the truth they proclaimed, and in the power with which they proclaimed it. It was a distinctive note of Puritan and other forms of English dissent, as representative of post-Reformation theology, that while they held tenaciously to the objectively

valid authority of an inspired Bible as the norm of faith, they held as tenaciously to the witness of the Spirit in the soul that validates the truth of revelation in terms of experience. That preaching should be experimental is no new discovery of the modern church. It has been contained in the very conception and definition of preaching. But what distinguishes the experimental quality in modern preaching is its independence and comprehensiveness. It does not feel itself absolutely dependent on any form of merely objective authority, however valuable it may be to validate the truth. It regards itself as able to dispense with all infallible external authority, save the great authority of Christ, who becomes inwardly revealed in the soul's own life. It therefore finds in the experience of the inner life the self-evidencing power of truth. Moreover, it coördinates and unifies all forms of experience, — the rational, the emotional, the ethical, the spiritual, — and finds in such unified experience a scientific as well as practical basis. It was given to the last century, as we have already seen, to redomesticate religion in the soul, to bring it from the objective world of authority to the subjective world of experience in its most comprehensive sense, to pass from the external to the internal evidences of its reality, to restore the true significance of religious experience for theology and for the life of the church. This is the outcome of two great modern movements especially, — one of the mind, the other of the soul, — the philosophical and the mystical movement. And it is the experimental factor in our preaching that is most fundamental, even though it may not be most obtrusive, because it is anchored to these two great movements. Hence it has a larger and more correct conception of religious knowledge. Religious knowledge is not merely the mind's knowledge concerning religion, knowledge of which religion furnishes merely the subject-matter, and the mind the instrument of investigation. It is not the mind holding to be true what is objec-

tively given for truth, any more than it is the will acknowledging it to be true independently of all mental, moral, or spiritual verification. Religious knowledge is truth, religiously as well as intellectually appropriated, truth that has become a moral and spiritual, as well as mental possession, and in the winning of which the entire moral and spiritual manhood is active. In this the pulpit has returned to the Biblical conception of knowledge, and has given it a philosophical grounding. Biblical knowledge is the knowledge of God as the source and end of all things. We know the universe only as we know it in Him who is behind and in all things and interprets them. More specifically, it is the knowledge of God and of Christ and of the kingdom of redemption, in which all true human life finds its ultimate significance. Hence knowledge is always the appropriation of something that is given, something that is revealed. It is not an independent intellectual conquest. Still further, it is truth taken in the form of ethical and spiritual as well as mental experience. As such, it has reality and validity even before it is fully formulated by and for the understanding, and it may indeed have a relative independence of the conceptual form in which it may be expressed and interpreted. No one knows in this comprehensive sense who simply has a notion of what is true. No one holds the truth who does not hold it in righteousness. Hence what is called the heart is the organ of knowledge. It is this centre of moral and spiritual manhood, this "rallying ground" of the moral and spiritual energies, that holds it. Through the lower and lowlier doorways of feeling, affection, conviction, that open inward as well as outward, the truth enters and finds its home. Hence it is the spiritual, not the merely intellectual, man that knows the truth. Hence it is the Spirit that guides into a knowledge of the truth. It enters through the open doorways of the soul as into its own domain and stirs the moral and spiritual energies and makes them

eager to appropriate what is native to them. It is moral and religious manhood, then, that is the organ of religious knowledge. Mental experience of the truth is largely dependent on moral and religious experience. The heart is the teacher of the mind. "Pectoral theology" was the earliest form of theology, and the church has never been without it. But it has been philosophically vindicated in our own age. It is an old truth with new significance, and the Christian pulpit is heir to it.

It is the experimental factor in modern preaching that largely determines its subject-matter. The experiences of the religious life become normative for theological science. They furnish the stuff with which reflection deals. They thus become regulative for the type of theology that appears in the pulpit and for the specific themes with which it deals. Religion as a fact of spiritual experience tests the worth of our theology. What becomes a necessary dogma of belief should first of all become a fact of faith. The *fides qua* conditions the *fides quæ*. Not all even of the religious content of the Bible may be expressed in forms of doctrine. Only what is significant for and verifiable in Christian experience should become a fundamental article of faith. Biblical teachings that have but little significance for the Christian life can have but little significance for the reflective life and but little significance for the pulpit. Reversely any truth that has value for the Christian life should and will have reality for the mental life, should and will be capable of formulation in terms of thought, is preachable, and should be preached. There have doubtless been formulated statements of Christian doctrine that cannot be intellectually apprehended and appropriated. As stated, they can have no significance for our mental life, and it is questionable whether they have any significance or value for our religious life. If they cannot be objects of intelligent belief it is questionable whether they can be objects of the

religious faith. But all the great truths of redemptive religion are in some form essential to the fullest and deepest Christian experience. They must certainly be capable of statement in intelligible form, and as valuable for the Christian life they must be normative for the belief of the Church and so proper subjects for pulpit discussion.

It is indeed possible that modern theology may overestimate the validating power of subjective religious experience. In passing from the realm of the objective, it has sometimes lost itself in the realm of the subjective. In assuming that the Christian consciousness of the individual and of the community is able to determine unconditionally and independently of objective revelation what truths of Christianity have value for the Christian life and what truths therefore are to be preached, it is possible that important teachings may have been thrust into the background or wholly ruled out of the pulpit. There may be and doubtless are truths which no Christian man, however clear his vision or deep his experience, has yet adequately seen or felt. It is an arrogant and unreasonable assumption that the actual content of the Christian experience of any one Christian man or community of men in any age can or should be made normative for all religious truth, even redemptive truth. We accept truth as well as fact partly upon a basis of external authority, and it is a rational thing to do so. There may be truths which we must accept upon the authority of the Master, who is in better condition to know than we are. We may accept them because our confidence in Him is a well-grounded and reasonable confidence, and we must wait for deeper experience and larger knowledge in order to secure the needed inward rational and religious verification of His word. We cannot successfully rule objective revelation out of the problems of religious knowledge, for historic religion is anchored to it. It is the preacher's task to coördinate the objective and the subjective, the historical

and the experimental. And yet it must be acknowledged that no man can preach what has not become real to him. The proclamation of what is unreal to the preacher would be no message. It is a great gain, therefore, that the preacher of our day in his proclamation of the truth is cautious about passing the bounds of his own experience.

The subjective tendencies of modern preaching may result in a certain vagueness, a lack of sharpness of outline and of positiveness. But it surely does not follow as of necessity that preaching should be vague just because it is experimental. What is real in Christian experience will naturally seek to express itself in intelligible thought. Religion necessitates theology. They may be differentiated in idea, but should not be divorced in experience. Ethical and religious experience demands a corresponding mental experience. The spiritual and mental life should not be divorced. Doctrine that does not express what is real in experience can hardly be of supreme importance, even as doctrine. But what is vital to the Christian life certainly can be expressed in terms of thought, and it is not a creditable thing that the Christian teacher refuse all effort to express in terms of clear thought what is real to his Christian life, or that he should regard with indifference the attempts of other men to do it. A man's success in this line may be meagre, but the attempt to bring the heart and mind into accord is a reasonable one. The preacher who makes a manly effort to express in intelligible terms of thought what is real to his feeling and conviction, however inadequate the effort, is entitled to respect. The preacher who holds that faith should be normative for belief, experience for thought, and who tries to make connection between them, is the preacher men need to hear. The course of philosophic thought in our time is in the direction of a more harmonious expression of the content of ethical and mental experience, and the effort in theologic thought to harmonize the utterances of the heart and of

the mind corresponds. The men who have held our attention to the relations of thought and life are the creators of a new era for the church. If, then, modern preaching is vague, it is not because it is experimental but because it is unreasonable. It is not in line with the best and most characteristic movements of our time.

Experimental preaching should be spiritual, spiritual in subject-matter and in tone. As a result of the transfer of religion from the realm of external authority to that of internal experience, the pulpit lays greater stress upon those truths of redemption upon which the spiritual life depends. In so far as modern preaching deals with this circle of truths, it is committed to a spiritual quality. It lays stress upon the spiritual needs of men. It will show men what God has done for them, as well as what they must do for themselves and for other men, what they must receive as well as give. It points to the soul's dependence on God, and to fellowship with Him, as well as to obedience to Him in the discharge of the practical duties of life. Spiritual preaching presupposes an appropriation by the heart and it is this that is regulative for mental and moral appropriation. It was not primarily a new awaking of mental nor of moral life that saved the modern church. In their pride of reason and of morality at the beginning of the last century, men were the despisers of religion, and the voice that was most persuasive and potent in calling them back to better paths was the voice of religion. It was the voice that rallied them to a new consideration of the deep and urgent wants that lie hidden in the recesses of every human heart, and that evoked a new sense of it. The modern preacher is heir to this great awakening, and if true to its meaning, he will strive to nurture the sense of spiritual want and to awaken a longing for a higher and fuller life. He will deal with those truths that are fitted to awaken and to satisfy those needs. This is the preaching that harmonizes with the needs of a worshipping

assembly, and seeks to further its interests. If the preaching of our age is not spiritual in its substance and tone, it is false to its inheritance.

Preaching that is strongly experimental will also be strongly personal. "We believe and therefore speak." Such preaching has the personal note. The best modern preaching has this note. At its best it is the utterance of exalted feeling. Why should it not be? The preacher knows that he brings a message of life, and one that is as fresh to-day as ages ago,— a perpetual inspiration. It comes as a promise of victory. It lifts the soul into the experience of triumph. Its earliest and its latest, its eternal, note is the note of redemption. It concerns itself with something received, not something done; it is gift, not exaction, privilege, not obligation. Religion is not "morality touched with emotion," but feeling, inspiring the morality that crowns and completes it. Christianity is not primarily a law of life, but a gift of grace. Religion does not begin, it ends with morality. Take from Christianity its chief characteristic, a new gift of life, and you quench its inspiration. If we define religion as morality touched with feeling, we have yet to explain the source and nature of the feeling. If it be nothing but moral feeling, we have added nothing to our definition either of morality or of religion. If the feeling be religious, we have still to ask its source and nature. Religion does not begin with the sense of bondage to law, but with the freedom of inspiration. It is a peaceful trust, a joyous fellowship, a prophetic hope, an enthusiastic loyalty. "Ask and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full." The earliest note of the Christian life was the note of hope and joy. It was a song of triumph. It was the poetry of life, and in the true preacher it utters itself with this same old note of joy and exultation. It knows no defeat and no death. No man needs such elevation of soul as the Christian preacher, and no man has such possibilities of it. Chris-

tianity can never perish, for it is life in the innermost heart of man. A ministry of the spirit that giveth life can never faint and grow weary and fail. Christianity as the gift of life is the only power that can save this world from despair, and the preacher's message is the only one that can bring joy to overworn and weary men. Many motives conspire to give personal force to the preacher's message. The intellectual motive is strong, and an intellectual experience of the power of the truth is necessary to his equipment. The ethical motive is urgent in the breast of any manly man, and no preacher adequately holds the truth who does not hold it in moral experience. The æsthetic motive is an inspiration, and the preacher needs the high vision of the ideal glory of life, of the Master of life, and of the eternal Kingdom of redemption. But he needs, above all, the uplift of a great inspiration of the heart, like that of Paul, who sang out his redemptive song in the midst of many tribulations, because he knew the constraint of the love of Christ. If the preacher's message lacks the note of personal intensity, it is because it lacks in experimental appropriation. If at its best the preaching of our day bears this mark, it is because the preacher accepts the truth he receives as a message and identifies himself with it.

II. But the preaching of our day is not the less Biblical, but rather the more, that it is experimental. And it is both Biblical and experimental because based on historic religion. All preachers, of whatever school, whether so-called liberal or evangelical, get into immediate connection with Biblical sources. Whatever the preacher's conception of the Bible, or whatever his interpretation of Biblical truth, whether it be radical or conservative, he will find some point of attachment for his discussion, somewhere and somehow, in these sources. There is less straying into extra-Biblical fields than in former periods, notwithstanding the increasing interest in other than the Hebrew

and Christian religions. The religion of our day is historic, concrete, experimental, not abstract, theoretic, or rationalistic. The historical and critical movement has secured new interest for the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. In Biblical quality it far surpasses the preaching of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The deistic and rationalistic preaching of that period, dealing as we have seen with an abstract, philosophical religion, the religion of nature, attempted to subject religion to intellectual and ethical experiment, and failed in its attempt. It lacked a historic basis. On the other hand, so-called orthodox preaching was as we have also seen based chiefly on the theology of the church. It was largely apologetic. The object of this theology was to present in an elaborate system, that called itself evangelical, "the way of salvation." It would gather all the saving truths of Christianity into this scheme of doctrine. The orthodox pulpit, therefore, must concentrate upon those doctrines of Christianity that were regarded as central and fundamental. The truths with which it dealt were few, and were furnished, not immediately by Scripture, but by the church creed. Scripture thus became, in a way, subordinate and was used for the sake of the doctrine discussed. The result, as already noted, was a prevailingly topical type of preaching that had but little use for texts. It was the preacher's task to bring his theme, whatever it might be, somehow into relation with the great central truths of salvation, particularly justification by faith, so that no one might fail of the requisite indoctrination. Every sermon must make the way of salvation known to the simplest and most unlearned hearer. Of course such a theory of preaching could not be realized. It was impossible to adapt the specific truth discussed to the whole circle of evangelical truth without a process of twisting that became grotesque. The real preacher refused to attempt so impossible a task, and this type of preaching was of course

not universally prevalent. But this was the theory of that type of preaching that had church dogma rather than Scripture for its basis. But the preaching of our day is not anchored to the theology of the church, even in the most extreme confessional schools. Theology itself has been modified. It is less apologetic, polemic, dogmatic. Preaching falls into line with this change. It deals less with formulated doctrine. It compasses a wider circle of truths. The historic movement, that has rediscovered historic Christianity, has given the pulpit a new Bible, rich in homiletic material. Criticism that deals destructively with church dogma and has not yet been superseded by a fully successful process of reconstruction has proved unfriendly to the doctrinal type of preaching. Church doctrine has suffered many things from the critical, agnostic, naturalistic, cosmopolitan, and practical tendencies of our time. But with all its evils, this critical destructiveness does not involve the complete disintegration of Biblical and evangelical truth, nor the complete devitalization of the evangelical spirit. The pulpit has fallen back upon the original Biblical sources of historic Christian truth, as interpreted, vindicated, and verified in the appropriations of Christian experience, rather than as fortified by the dogmatic authority, implicit or explicit, of the church. Doubtless there is need of more doctrinal preaching of the right sort. Preaching should deal with the theology of a rational and ethical Christian experience, and one that bears the marks of Christian catholicity, as well as with the unformulated theology of the Biblical records. A pulpit incapable of this is weak. But it is doubtless true that the people of our day are ready for a type of preaching whose subject-matter is prevailingly Biblical and historic, interpreted and illustrated in fresh, concrete forms. Biblical theology has new demands upon the pulpit. Advance in any branch of scientific theology demands a corresponding advance in its practical use in the service of the church.

There is demand for preaching that is more distinctively textual and expository, or at least that avails itself more freely of Biblical material. The topical sermon was a product of secular culture, applied to the work of preaching, and has been overworked. A pulpit use of the Bible, commensurate with the possible popular interest in it, with our better knowledge of it, with our more concrete illustrative method of preaching, and with men's religious needs, is in process of development. This use of the Bible, not as a "codex of divine legislation" nor as a storehouse of proof texts for heavenly doctrines merely, but as a record of human experiences as well as of divine revealings, a great, rich body of sacred literature, incomparable in its value for the religious life of men — this will make the work of preaching more suggestive, more living, more real and cogent.

A specific phase of the Biblical is the Christological quality of the preaching of our day. It deals largely with the person and work of Christ. In this it follows the course of modern religious thought. All the great movements of modern thought — philosophical, historical, critical, literary, religious — have combined to bring us back to historic Christianity and to the historic Christ. Religion and theology are anchored there. Not that they had ever wholly abandoned Christ, but they have come back to a Christ who has new significance for the thought and life of the world. The church has been led away from the "simplicity that is in Christ," has created for itself a speculative Christ, who became almost an abstraction of thought. The Christ of theology was not in many respects the Christ of the historic records. The spiritual vision of the church indeed has ever discerned Him beneath whatever forms of its creative thought, or whatever relative formlessness of abstract conception, and its loyal heart has never wholly failed to be true to Him. But the Christology of our day has a historic and not an abstract or speculative basis.

In passing from the realm of dogmatic authority to the realm of Christian experience, theology has brought preaching back to a more distinctively Christian circle of ideas. There is less by-play, less straying into extra-Christian fields. The Old Testament, although copiously and suggestively and more legitimately used, is not so largely and so indiscriminately used. The truths of redemptive religion, variously interpreted indeed, are kept at the front. The personal relation of the disciple to Christ is much insisted upon. Fellowship with Him, and conformity to His mind, enter largely into our conception of the Christian life. Christ is presented, not only as the historic ideal of all complete religious character, but as the energizing moral and spiritual force of the world. Under the Christological influence, rationalism has been greatly modified. It has enlarged its scope. The term "reason," which once played so important a part in religious thought, gives place to the "Christian consciousness," which includes not only rational experience but other forms of experience as well, the ground of which is acknowledged by all reputable Christian thinkers of whatever school to be the historic Christ. As coming into closer touch with the person of Christ, and catching the inspiration of His life, modern preaching is less one-sidedly intellectual and speculative and abstract. It is more emotional and sympathetic, although not the less thoughtful when at its best. It is also more concrete and varied in its scope. The preacher deals with manifold phases of Christ's earthly manifestation, and the Christianity it presents is, therefore, more comprehensive. The dogmatic method has limited itself too exclusively to a single phase of Christianity, or to only a few of its varied aspects. The Biblical method concerns itself with all phases of it that emerge in the records. Doubtless it was a sound religious instinct that led the church to anchor to the Pauline Christology, and the church will continue to return to Christ through

Paul. But other forms of Christ's complex manifestation have been obscured and other types of doctrine have been neglected. As a result of the above-mentioned change preaching has given the world a broader Christianity, and the whole Christ has been more adequately presented.

III. The preaching of our day is critical and discriminating in its character. No age, perhaps, has surpassed the present in the amount of its intellectual activity, in the pervasiveness of its critical spirit, and in the variety of its objects. It is an amazingly nimble, if not a very profound, activity. It is an age of intellectual emancipation, in which nothing that is old remains sacred, or is to be sentimentally cherished just because it is old. In this restless hunger for new knowledge, this eager search for the bottom of things, everything is torn to pieces. We must get on without assumptions. Dogmatism is discredited. Theory waits reverently upon facts. Nothing can be known that is not known inductively and historically. Scholarship lingers in the domain of phenomena. Agnosticism is the ally of criticism. The critical process abides with its analysis and lingers long with the elements of its investigation. It demolishes ill or inadequately based theories, and allies itself with no corresponding process of construction. And this involves in itself that suspense of judgment which we call agnosticism. Whatever be the result, good or bad, and it is both, it is inevitable that the preaching of our day should be influenced by this critical and agnostic spirit. An unfavorable result is a certain lack of positiveness. It has been too largely negative and destructive. Much effort has been wasted in the tearing-down process. Instead of interpreting the inner truth that lies back of the traditional teaching of the church, getting at the heart of it, holding the continuity of Christian thought, and saving the church from schism, such preaching has cultivated a polemical temper, forced divisions, proved tributary to the multiplication of sects and detrimental to spiritual pros-

perity. Dealing too exclusively with the forms of thought, it has shown itself to be shallow and has left the people without a positive faith. There are evidences of return to a better mind and method, but there is still a note of uncertainty, a lack of assurance, of definiteness of conception, of force of conviction, and consequently of cogency of persuasion, in much of the preaching in our Protestant churches. The processes and results of criticism are of course at the preacher's disposal, and he must not, and should not, be denied them, any more than he should be denied the processes and results of speculation, for all this is necessary to rational and fruitful preaching. But criticism and speculation have no place in the pulpit if they cannot strengthen the faith of the people. It is the function of the preacher to build up, not to tear down. The tearing down process goes on with sufficient vigor outside the church. The preacher is summoned to withstand it.

The Biblical quality of the preaching of our day should be tributary to positive and constructive doctrinal methods and results. It is true, indeed, that Biblical criticism may have an opposite result. Biblical preaching may lack a certain anchorage ground, in fundamental philosophical and theological conceptions of Christianity, and may become doctrinally vague. It is notably true that the more fundamental the preacher's conceptions, the more positive and fruitful his preaching is likely to be. What preachers need is a firmer philosophical and theological grasp of truth to steady them in the demolitions of their critical processes. But it is true that those preachers who share most worthily the Biblical spirit, and are dominated by its concrete and realistic methods are increasingly constructive and edifying.

The tolerant catholic quality of our preaching should also be tributary to positiveness and fruitfulness, for it summons the preacher to concentrate upon the great primary and universal truths and facts of Christianity.

This very catholicity and tolerance, indeed, may tend to vagueness and indefiniteness and even to laxity and latitudinarianism, and this may the more urgently accentuate the demand that the preacher rally himself to greater definiteness of conception and strength of conviction, in order to secure positiveness and definiteness of impression. But the true catholicity that is tolerant with respect to what is secondary and supremely loyal to what is central and primary is a condition of positiveness. And it is precisely this positiveness of Christian catholicity that is demanded to-day. In an age of criticism, positiveness of belief and conviction is possible for intelligent men only as they concentrate upon what is fundamental, essential, and universal. Men are sure to differ on what is secondary. We get not only approximate harmony, but concentration and positiveness by ignoring what is secondary. It is the secondary that is divisive.

But something more than a broad Biblical and catholic basis is needed. There is demanded, as just intimated, a basis of rational conviction. The truth must become a definite mental possession, else it cannot be definitely and positively preached. One may teach after a fashion, may attempt to interpret and after a fashion succeed in giving an intelligible account of what is given by external authority, without intellectually domesticating the teaching. It may still remain a mystery with which one's reason has no commerce. But one cannot preach it on that wise. Positiveness has an intellectual basis, and without such basis preaching will not be permanently effective. The tendency of our time is toward a rational appropriation of the truth. External authority must find an echo in the intelligence of men. In so far forth it is tributary to the positiveness of the preacher's message.

But in a critical age the demand for moral and spiritual conviction is still stronger. Preaching indeed rests upon truth that is given. It is not a purely subjective product.

But such objective truth is valueless without appropriation in moral and spiritual conviction. It is not a book but a man that speaks. It is not the fragment of a man, not the topmost part and crown of him if you will, but the man in the totality and unity of his life. Preaching is not the emptying of the contents of the garret of the mind. It is the utterance of what is deepest and most vital in the man. It is not telling what some one said ages ago, but the testimony of what the preacher sees and feels of the reality and power of what was said. It involves not only an experience of religion but of religious truth. Hence the need of anchoring the soul to it. Such truth is transmuted into life, and is interpreted in experience. There are truths, doubtless, that cannot thus be verified. But it is questionable, as already suggested, if any truth that has significance for the religious life is not thus verifiable. Now it is the man who takes into the content of his own experience these dominating truths that will be a definite and positive preacher. The experimental element in our preaching thus becomes a positive element.

One of the most favorable results of the critical and discriminating quality of modern preaching is its realism. It is more thorough than the preaching of former periods in its adherence to what is known, and is less inclined to theorize and speculate. It is more cautious and conscientious in its verifications. It uses Scripture texts more carefully. It will know first of all the historic sense. Texts, indeed, are used suggestively and this becomes tributary to a rhetorically impressive and nonelaborate type of preaching. But the critical regulates the rhetorical tendency. As a result the sermon is likely to have a sound didactic basis at the same time that it is attractive and persuasive. The accommodating use of texts is recognized as such, and the reputable modern preacher will not allegorize his text. That is, he will not confound the historical with the rhetorical use, and will not substitute the one for

the other. He is especially cautious in his use of proof texts, and in any use of Scripture that is to furnish a basis for didactic preaching. The uncritical and undiscriminating use of Scripture has no place in preaching that bears the modern spirit. This critical realism discloses itself in the preacher's dealing with the facts of historical Christianity. These facts have increasing importance for the preacher's work. Historic criticism has furnished a more realistic conception of revelation and inspiration. God is not a remote abstraction, but a historical reality, emerging into manifestation in the whole course of historic development, which crowns itself in Christ. Christianity is not primarily a revelation of truth, but of life, not a set of ideas about God in which men must be indoctrinated, and which they must mentally appropriate as the condition of salvation, but a manifestation of God in Christ, who is to be approached in an act of ethical and spiritual faith. God is not a remote, extra-world reality, but an abiding presence in humanity, giving new significance to all human life. And this critical realism is seen in the preacher's treatment of the person of Christ. Christ in the different aspects of his personal and official character, as made more fully known by historic criticism, is more comprehensively presented to the world. The importance of Christ's personal, historic character is more fully recognized, and more fully accentuated, and this is one of the realistic notes of modern pulpit apologetics. The humanity of Christ, as distinguished from speculative conceptions of his divinity, and of his ontological relations with God, is more fully dealt with. It was one of the regulative principles of Frederick Robertson's preaching, that "belief in the humanity of Christ must be antecedent to belief in His divinity." In this he interprets and furthers a realistic tendency of thought that is one of the products of modern philosophic and historic culture. Soteriology, as well as Theology, Bibliology, and Christology, bears the

mark of this critical realism. Preaching is critical with respect to theories that have gathered about the facts of Christ's redemptive work. But it does not fail to deal with these facts themselves, nor to interpret their practical significance for the Christian life. The modern preacher may have found some of the church theories of the atonement unpreachable, and he may have abandoned them. But he has not necessarily lost all connection with the fact of the atonement, although he may have found no adequate theory for the fact, nor does he fail to grasp in worthy measure the practical significance of the sacrificial death of Christ. The manward side of reconciliation is more prominent than the divine side, even in the preaching of those who hold the traditional theory of reconciliation. The Christian year which brings the great facts of historic Christianity into the pulpit is more fully recognized by all Christian churches. The entire earthly life of Christ has furnished a most interesting species of modern Christian literature. Various scenes, events, facts, connected with his life, as well as discourses taken in their historic connection, treated in an expository, applicatory, and rhetorically suggestive manner, have become frequent themes for pulpit discourse. In a word, historic criticism has brought us back to the person and life of Christ, and the preacher is willing that speculative theory should wait upon fact. And as further involved in all this, we find the dominance of the ethical as distinguished from the dogmatic aspect of Christianity. For this reason the modern pulpit deals very largely with Christ as a new moral force in the human race, as a vital race-regenerating agency, as a renewing and sanctifying power within us, rather than as an objective ground of forensic justification and reconciliation for us. Whatever may be said about the adequacy of this presentation of Christ as a moral force, and it may be questioned whether it does full justice to Christianity as a revelation of the character of God, it nevertheless has its justification

in the practical needs of men, and in its harmony with the development of historic Christianity.

The method of treating eschatological questions is another result of theological criticism and is essentially a realistic method. The preacher lays stress upon the serious reality of life, as well as upon the solemn reality of death, upon the importance of the life that now is for its own sake as related to personal character and achievement, as well as on account of its relation to the life that is to come. Character is a development and death an incident, which, however solemn in its moral significance, is not magical in its effects, but only leaves the soul just where it finds it. Punishment is the action of forces laid deep in the being, and is self evolved, beginning here and now, with ethical and judicial significance, and going on as long as the energies of the soul are untouched by the powers of redemption. All this is a disclosure of the moral character of God. But punishment is not an infliction laid on from without by God, with ethical and judicial significance only after mortal life has ended. In a word, man's relation to the future is conceived and presented realistically in terms of law and of experience, not speculatively, or in terms of imaginative representation. Modern thought has, in many ways, dealt destructively with the solemn realities of the moral world. It is easily possible that the preacher may treat man's relation to the future too lightly, and that "the powers of the world to come," "the power of an endless life," may be too much lost sight of. All this may involve a superficial sense of sin, which is a defect of modern life, as it is of modern preaching. But it also discloses a genuine spirit of Christian realism that is critical and discriminating and cautious in its dealing with the serious realities of our moral life.

IV. But the most obtrusive characteristic of the preaching of our day is, perhaps, its practical quality. This has already been touched upon in other relations, but demands

more specific discussion. It is a commonplace that the age is characteristically one of action rather than of reflection. There is a great amount of intellectual activity and it is very intense, but it is turned into the channels of practical life. Men are after the available. Their thinking is not esoteric and speculative. They do not linger in the realm of abstraction. They push for immediate and tangible results and are impatient of the slow and dignified processes of former days. Science cannot wait till it is appropriated by the educated world, and is not left to work out its slow results. It is interpreted in the language of the people, brought to common apprehension, and put at once to practical use. The thinker becomes an advocate and aims at influencing the opinions and actions of his fellows. The investigator becomes the apologist. Education aims at practical ends. Men must be rushed into the work of life, and no time is to be lost in dawdling over old mediæval humanities. The scientific hard presses the humanistic ideal of culture. Every man has his sphere in the busy, bustling world. This is the measure of his value and he must be trained for it. The technical school pushes to the front and the college and university are in close contact with life. The demands of a life of material success test the worth of the educational ideal. Young blood is in demand. There is no surplus respect for tradition or convention or custom. Theology is pushed out into practical life. It must be workable and easily translated into popular speech. In the church there is a new field for active leadership, and for men of executive force who can organize and bring things to pass. This influence powerfully affects the pulpit, especially in a democratic country, and wherever the democratic spirit has gotten a strong hold. In much it is a favorable result. Practical preaching in the good sense is simply preaching that is adjusted to the real needs of men in a living world.

The concrete, rhetorically didactic, and persuasive quality of the preaching of our time bears the mark of this practical spirit. The preacher indeed must speak to the mind, but he must avoid the realm of abstract thought. He must speak through the imagination to secure an emotional interest in order that he may secure a practical interest in the truth. The modern preacher has learned that logic is not the only instrument for defending the truth, or the only agency for interpreting it. Christianity may be made to appear reasonable, without an elaborate process of argument. A positive, declarative, illustrative utterance of truth that tests itself in experience, that relies upon the common sense of men, and upon the moral and religious judgment, is better than personal attack on error. It is not the preacher's aim to deposit the truth as a formal and regulative possession in the understanding, but as a moral and spiritual possession, that it may become the more truly and fully a personal possession and so reproduce itself in practical life. This habitual appeal to experience, to moral sense and conviction, to the native instincts of the human heart, in a word to what is human and common in men, illustrates the practical character of our preaching and is surely a return in some sort to the original type. The nonpolemical quality of it is also, as just intimated, in part the result of its practical spirit. The sectarian spirit has diminished. It cannot thrive in an atmosphere of Christian common sense. The Christianity of our day has called a halt to the partisan polemist. The broad churchman is having his day. Large-minded and large-hearted men, upon whom the church must rely to perpetuate Christian institutions, demand a type of preaching that shall look towards the establishment of a more catholic Christianity and the realization of a more complete Christian union. The best preaching of our day, therefore, because it is practical, has the note of catholicity. It strikes for the central truths, truths that are most com-

manding and most fully regulative of the unity and effectiveness of the church.

The problems of social ethics have opened a broad field for the modern pulpit, and it has taken possession of it as its own province. It is in alliance with all sane movements for the establishment of a better social order. Preaching, of course, is grounded in religion and should be spiritual in tone and aim. Thus only will it be the more genuinely practical. Religion is the basis of the morality with which the pulpit deals; it is the revelation of the grace of God that inspires and directs all noblest moral impulse and conditions the fullest realization of moral obligation. Religion includes morality, and a complete morality presupposes religion. They may of course be differentiated in thought, and each may be conceived as having a sphere of its own. As religious, the Christian life centres in the realm of the invisible and ideal; as ethical, it centres in the visible and practical. As religious, it looks Godward and Christward, and realizes itself in the invisible personal relation of dependence, subjection, and fellowship; as ethical, it looks manward and realizes itself in the concrete relations and activities of human life. As religious, it appropriates the content of redemptive revelation; as ethical, it fulfils in forms of duty the royal law of love, which becomes the law of liberty, and is productive of Christian virtue, which develops itself distributively in the virtuous acts of life. But although differentiable in thought, they may not be divorced in practical experience, and least of all in the preacher's work. It has been the boast of some of our modern churches, modern in time but not in spirit, that they do not meddle with the great moral questions of the day, and it has been claimed that they are more prosperous materially and spiritually on this account. But that must always be a delusive prosperity in which fidelity to the great moral interests of mankind are compromised. On the other hand, if other churches of

our day have converted themselves into ethical clubs and their ministers have masqueraded as political economists, or dabblers in social and political problems, this is only another extreme, and cannot be accepted as normal. The preacher who has no voice for the great moral problems that touch the very heart of our social and political life is disloyal to his trust, and will and should fail in influence with men. Especially in a democratic age and nation the pulpit will and should touch every sphere of human life. In practical working relations with all classes of men, all branches of human industry, all varieties of human interests, stands this representative of a practical religion, and of a living church, and all men have some sort of claim upon him. The world demands, and has the right to demand, that he represent an ethical religion, and he who knows his calling will respond to the demand. That the church and ministry of our time are measurably responsive to this demand is evidence of their practical aim.

With this is closely allied, as in fact a part of it, the philanthropic or humanitarian quality. It would be strange indeed if the sentiment of humanity, both in its secular and religious aspects, which is so notable a characteristic of our time, should not powerfully influence the church and powerfully appeal to the pulpit. There is a good deal of what may be called secular philanthropy. It is ultimately Christian in its source, but it is not altogether Christian in its spirit, methods, and aims. It is possible that the church and ministry may be dominated to a considerable extent by it, and the preacher may be deluded by the semblance of what is Christian. Such failure to discriminate will result disastrously to the church. But it is doubtless true that the philanthropy of the church and pulpit is prevailingly Christian. Christ is the inspiration of it. The modern pulpit is a missionary pulpit. The race significance of Christianity is a rediscovery. The sentiment of pity is richly developed. The preacher has

abandoned the tone of harshness in which the guilt of sin was once denounced. He deals less copiously with the motive of fear, and honors the profounder and more truly human motives of aspiration and gratitude and self-respect and moral obligation and sympathy with needy men, and it is this spirit of humanity that makes modern preaching more persuasive.

This practical character in which preaching adapts itself to the complex life of the modern world has, as already suggested, greatly enlarged its scope. It handles a greater variety of subjects than the preaching of any previous age, and the farther out into human life it reaches, the more manifold and multiform it becomes. The change from the dogmatic and ecclesiastical to the ethical and humanistic point of view is in this regard a most productive change. The themes of an abstract church theology are relatively few. The themes that touch the practical moral life of man are as diversified as human existence itself. We have seen that the practical spirit and aim of modern preaching have been attended with favorable results. It may be claimed that in so far as the activity of the age has been beneficent in its character, in so far its preaching has been beneficent. But there is another side. The activity of the age has an unfavorable aspect. It is in much an age of self-assertion, of self-indulgence, of selfish greed, of arrogance, of empty show, of reckless waste, of dishonesty and dishonor, and of brute force. It is an age of high-wrought animal emotions, not of lofty enthusiasm. It is enterprising, not reflective; aggressive, not receptive; self-righteous, not humble or docile. Even its philanthropy is to a considerable extent fussy and professional. It is conscious of its mission, not of its probation. The passive virtues are discredited. There is defective sense of sin, and but little deep sense of want. It is the masculine age; with all its democracy, an age of blood and iron. Its conquests are the conquests of will,

and too little of reason and of moral conviction. Men fancy they can work out their own life problem, and are not dominated by the highest and noblest ideals. They are not enthusiastically chivalrous. They are not lifted into the heights of noble feeling as their fathers were. There is courage enough of a sort, but there is too little moral courage. It is a prudential courage that will not waste life in impracticable self-sacrifice. It is a time of facile moral adjustments. Men do not propose to be at cross purpose with the world. They have but one life to live and they must make the most and the best of that, and the most and the best are found in the realm of material success. It is the artisan age. The "great Lord of shoddy adulteration and malfeasance" bears sway, and things are done with "the maximum of slimness, swiftness, and mendacity." The machine and the boss have firm grip upon the political community. The political idealist and reformer is an object of contempt. Recognition of the opinions and moral sentiments and judgments of high-minded citizens is, at best, a "pandering" of necessity. Government is in alliance with a corrupt commercial life, and we are coming back to the reign of brute force. Patriots who would exalt the ideals of the fathers, hold the government to the traditions of a better day, and reverse the policy of jingo agitators are traitors. The century that opened with a great outcry and outreach of Christian philanthropy, and gave new hope for struggling humanity, has closed upon us with open advocacy or defence of the brutal doctrine of force. That the Christian pulpit should be influenced by all this is not strange. In practical aim and general ethical purpose, in rhetorical effectiveness and range of discussion, and in many other respects there is great gain. But it may be questioned whether there is not serious defect in evangelistic fervor and in moral intensity, a defect of purpose so to present the claims of religion and morality as strongly to impress the individual

conscience, and secure the conscious allegiance of the individual will. In this respect the preaching of other days was far more effective. To meet the moral degradation of our time the truth should be crowded upon the conscience. The pulpit should handle with strong feeling and urgent purpose the great saving truths and facts and the great moral forces of our religion, with reference to moral and spiritual conquest. The preaching that loses its grip on the individual man and deteriorates in moral and spiritual cogency will fail to meet the needs of its age.

V. It remains to consider some of the formal qualities that may be regarded as characteristic of the preaching of our day. I mean its methods of expounding, illustrating, and enforcing the truth, of relating thought in structural form, and of rhetorical or literary expression. Any marked change in the material aspects of preaching will involve a corresponding change in its formal aspects. Philosophical, historical, literary, theological, and religious changes involve modification in men's conception of the nature of preaching, its object, its tone, and spirit, and all this will condition the preacher's method. All this is matter of historic fact and may be copiously illustrated. So long, for example, as the apostolic tradition, as fixed by Scripture, was the basis of the preacher's work, and so long as it was understood that his chief or only function was to interpret and enforce Biblical truth, as of necessity the homily represented his sole or prevailing method. It was not simply the fact that Cyprian and Tertullian were orators, trained in the classic school, but also because they were influenced by the thought of their age and won a new subject-matter for their preaching that explains their modification of the church homily which secured for their work a new and better method. Augustine and Chrysostom were theologians as well as orators, and for this reason the preaching of the church was in their hands still further modified. It was not simply pressure from without that

forced the preachers of the fourth century to conform to the rhetorical standards of the educated and cultivated classes, which were pressing into Constantine's state church, and that resulted in the introduction of something approximating the topical method into the pulpit. It was in part a pressure from within. It was the influence of theological and ecclesiastical changes. Scholastic preaching, that enlarged and fixed the topical form, was distinctly a product of scholastic thought, and the topical form has persisted because humanistic culture necessitates its application to the work of the pulpit as its appropriate instrument. It was because the Reformation returned to the simplicity of the Gospel of Grace as its material principle, and to the authority of Scripture as its formal principle, that it also returned to the simple forms of Biblical preaching. It was the rediscovered truth and the reanimated life of the church that created or rather appropriated a method commensurate with and correspondent to its needs. And it was because the post-Reformation period returned to the dogmas of the church as the basis of the work of the pulpit that it demanded also a return to the scholastic form of preaching as its most appropriate method.

It was because the Puritan preachers of England, and later on of New England, held tenaciously to the doctrines of the Reformed church and to the doctrinal type of preaching that they perpetuated the scholastic method of the post-Reformation. And it was this that modified even the best type of their Biblical preaching. It was the great awakening in England, bringing new life to the church, that modified the preaching of Whitefield and the Wesleys, and that of their successors still more. When rationalism invaded Germany, a new subject-matter forced a new method of presenting it. When Unitarianism broke with New England orthodoxy, it needed a new method to set forth new conceptions of Christianity, and it adopted a

modified form of the topical method which has persisted and has in much wrought beneficently. The changes that preaching has undergone in all countries that are influenced by modern life are due to influences that have wrought powerfully in the innermost mental and moral and religious life of the church. Paul, in the second chapter of his first letter to the Corinthians, has given us the Christian *locus classicus* for the organic unity of the truth received with its method of presentation. To God-revealed truth answers a God-inspired utterance.

1. The evolutionary method of growth and expansion is, therefore, one of the formal characteristics of modern preaching. It is a development from within, not an accretion from without. This connection between the inner substance and life and the outer form has indeed never been wholly lacking, and the more spontaneous and natural preaching has been, the closer the connection. But this is preëminently true of the preaching of our day. The classical conception of the formal character of public discourse was suggested by the arrangement (*dispositio*) of troops in line of battle. Every man in line has his place and must do duty at his post. Every topic, every thought, has its place in the line of discussion, and does duty in its place. It is a felicitous suggestion of the order and unity that should characterize all effective discussion. But it is easy to see that it may suggest a somewhat external relation of thought. Thoughts may have no inner connection, may not emerge from a single centre, but may be placed in external juxtaposition, and the intellectual degeneracy of classical oratory into externality, artificiality, superficiality, and ineffectiveness may have in part been due to a failure to grasp adequately the inner relations of thought that are essential to unity and to cogency of impression, just as its moral degeneracy was due to defective moral earnestness in the orator. Scholasticism conceived the discourse as a structure. It was something built.

The notion of building a sermon, the notion of a piece of homiletic architecture, a piece of carpenter work, is an echo of the scholastic conception. It suggests material that is brought from without, and the fact that it is from without furnishes no assurance that it may not be very remotely related to the subject. The materials of thought are laid in juxtaposition, are built into the sermon, and there is growth by accretion. It therefore lacks in vital quality. When preaching rests upon external authority, and gives itself to the task of defending formulated church doctrines, it is very likely to import its texts from without, and to adjust them artificially to the support of these doctrines. In such external adjustments there can be no unfolding of thought from within. The point of view from which the modern sermon is contemplated, however, is that of the organism. The organism develops from within, in the evolutionary process, and this unfolding process is one of the marks of the best type of modern preaching. It was one of the working principles of Frederick Robertson's preaching that the sermon should unfold itself from within outward, rather than move from without inward. This was in harmony with the Biblical and experimental character of his preaching. His sermon grew as an organism. And this was in line with his conception of the function of the preacher as primarily that of an interpreter. This interpreting function involves two factors, the historical and the experimental. Their presence in the work of interpretation necessitates the unfolding process. To be an interpreter, the preacher must first of all get into close connection with the truth he is to proclaim, he must get into working relation with the Biblical writer, whose thoughts he is to unfold, must get his point of view, must make real in his own mind and heart the truth that is given. Then he must fertilize it with the content of his own inner experience, must vitalize it by the energies of his own intelligence and imagination, must get it into con-

nection with principles that are universally valid and get it into working connection with the realities of life. This is the work of the interpreter, and it is a movement from within. Such an interpreter is the man who brings out things new and old from the inner treasure-house of truth, and it may be claimed that the modern preacher of the best type does this.

2. Closely connected with the unfolding process is the element of variety. The preacher will avoid a stereotyped method, which is unproductive and ineffective. Each sermon will be of its own kind, and bear its own distinctive mark. A method that will do for one sermon will not do for another. A legitimate use of texts, product largely of historic and literary criticism, furthers that variety which is the result of homiletic individualization. Instead of importing from without the thought or truth the preacher wishes to discuss, and smuggling it into the text in the old allegorical fashion, which with various modifications has been for centuries perpetuated in the pulpit, and instead of proceeding to evolve what he has laid into the text, he reverses the process. He gets the exact thought of the writer, the main, or, it may be, some subordinate thought, or he takes some thought inwardly suggested by some valid principle of associated ideas, and therefore legitimately suggested, and he makes this the entire basis of his discussion. Thus not only the thought, but the whole tone and spirit of the text, as it lives in the preacher's imagination and feeling, dominates the discussion. In this way each discourse, evolved as to its substance of thought from within, and pervaded by the tone quality of the text, as it finds echo in his own inner life, will have its own distinctive character, and variety is the result. There will be as many sorts of individual sermons as there are texts and as many types of sermons as there are types of texts and of subjects.

The unfolding of topics, as well as of texts also,

promotes variety. Instead of selecting topics in an arbitrary manner, as from an outside storehouse where they are all gathered in waiting for use, and forcing the thought material of the sermon, whatever it may be, to gather about these topics as centres, thus necessitating artificiality and monotony of treatment, the preacher reverses the process. He will evolve his topics or thought-centres from within the thought material of the subject itself, taking only such as are naturally suggested and yield themselves readily to the homiletic touch. He draws from within outward, applying the logical activities of his own mind, in a simple, natural way, to the material of the subject, and the sermon under this inner pressure of thought unfolds itself freely and with facility and fluency of movement, and this as of necessity secures variety of structural form. Such variety secures the sermon against commonplace treatment. The commonplaces of classical rhetoric — *loci communes* — were those classified topics or categories of thought that were regarded as adapted in common to the discussion of certain classes of subjects or to certain types of oratory. A scientific analysis, like that of Aristotle, of topics that have a common adaptation to any type of public discourse does not necessarily involve artificiality of treatment when applied to any rhetorical product, so long as these topics are evolved from within, in connection with the development of the thought material of the subject, rather than imported from without. It is the external application of topics that marks a degeneracy in public speech, and it is thus that the "commonplaces" of public speech, by becoming external and monotonous and stereotyped, become also "commonplace." The commonplace in speech is the artificial and the stereotyped.

The practical and literary sense of the preacher also promotes variety. He who is accustomed to lay stress upon the ethical significance of his preaching, who estimates the sermon as an instrument for bringing something to pass,

who knows that its worth is precisely in what it accomplishes, will dread and will avoid monotony and commonplace. He knows that he must meet a great variety of needs in the complex life of men, and that he must adjust his preaching to those needs. Modern life is clamorous for the zest of variety. Woe to the preacher who ignores such clamor. Literary culture also exacts variety and promotes it. For literary facility necessitates a certain freshness and variety of treatment.

The nondogmatic habit of mind is likewise promotive of the same result. Preaching that anchors to church dogma, or to propositional theology, almost as of necessity involves itself in monotony. Scholasticism has given us structural homiletics. Its stereotyped method was one of its most characteristic marks and most serious defects. Each sermon must defend its thesis or proposition by appeal to law. All the recognized cycles of law — Mosaic, Levitical, prophetical, evangelical, apostolic, and canonical law — were brought into the field of discussion, unto a dreary elaborateness and monotony from which all life had fled and all power had vanished. The preaching of New England in the eighteenth century was indeed in many respects a great modification of the scholastic type, but it belonged to that same general school. It was supremely doctrinal and supremely monotonous, not simply in its range of subjects, but in its method of treatment. The sermon almost invariably had two main divisions, with numerous subdivisions, the first, theoretic, containing the discussion, which was generally argumentative, the second, practical, called "improvement" or "use." Its anchorage ground was the theology of the church or of some school, and even the Biblical material, as already frequently suggested, became a vehicle for conveying this theology. It overvalued indoctrination as the aim of the sermon and correct belief as its result. But the preacher of our day has learned that he may be didactic and edifying, reflective and instructive,

without being dogmatic or argumentative or polemical. He has learned that the main object of the sermon is not to indoctrinate nor to defend the theology of the church, but to interpret the content of Biblical religion, to persuade men to accept it, and to build men into a Christian type of manhood. In this modification of aim and process we get variety in the modern pulpit.

3. Concreteness is another quality of form that distinguishes the preaching of our day. It moves in the realm of life rather than of abstract thought, of experience rather than of theory, of illustration rather than of argument, of concrete reality rather than of speculation. Concreteness is a material as well as formal quality, and the two cannot be separated. It is conditioned not wholly by the preacher's habit of mind and by his literary taste and culture, but by his conception of revelation, with whose substance he deals. When revelation was regarded as the disclosure of the mind of God, of His thought and purpose and plan of redemption, whose contents were fixed in Scripture as a body of doctrine, it was natural that the doctrinal aspects of Christianity should be put in the forefront, and that the teaching function of the preacher should receive chief emphasis. Religion is to be apprehended as a form of knowledge. Belief belongs to the very essence of faith. The church is for the mature, the thoughtful mind as well as the awakened heart and conscience is evidence that religion is doing its work in the soul. The church as the object of the preacher's work must be edified, and edification is indoctrination. The pulpit, therefore, is conceived as the organ of church orthodoxy, and when the pulpit, following theology, chose logic, the science of thought, as its instrument of interpretation, it was a necessary result that preaching should become abstract, should move in a circle of inwardly related ideas, should appropriate the categories of dialectic rather than of rhetoric, and should fail to enter the realm of concrete reality, the

realm of life and experience, as its proper domain. With changed conceptions of Christianity as the revelation of God came changed conceptions of preaching. Revelation is the historic presence of God in redemption. That presence still and ever abides in humanity, and all human life takes on new significance by reason of that ever abiding presence that consecrates all things. All men, all things, all events, all experiences, all sciences, all arts, all industries, all commerce, all politics, all knowledge, — all things in this whole earth of God, belong to the kingdom of God, which is the kingdom of redemption. And this whole vast world of reality is open to the preacher. Truth may find everywhere its agent or instrument of interpretation and enforcement. All things are of God and all things belong to the preacher, for he belongs to Christ, as Christ to God, and all things belong to the kingdom of God. The significance for the work of the Christian pulpit of the redemptive presence of God in the world cannot be overestimated, and therefore the significance of life, as the concrete realm in which the preacher moves, cannot be overvalued. It is because it moves in the realm of experience and not of abstract thought that the preaching of our day is humanistic rather than ecclesiastical or theological. But it is not only modified conceptions of Christianity, but the pressure of life itself that has forced the change. The concrete quality of modern preaching is proof that the realities of life have forced the preacher to cherish larger and profounder and richer and truer conceptions of human nature, of its needs and its demands, and to adopt more adequate methods of reaching and influencing it. It knows, indeed, the sin and perversion and degradation of man, but it values the instincts and impulses of the heart and the convictions of the conscience that have survived his ruin. It knows the significance of imagination and æsthetic sense for the feelings and the will. It knows the soul in the unity and totality of its powers, and does

not isolate these powers. The Scriptures are a literature rich in concrete material, that solicits the preacher's imagination, that awakens his emotional life, that stirs his poetic susceptibilities, and it must interpret itself through the preacher, in forms correspondent to its wealth of concrete reality. It is this fresh sense of life's sacredness as conditioned by richer conceptions of the world as the kingdom of God, this pressure of life's realities upon the preacher, and this enrichment of his literary culture, that are tributary to the concrete quality of his method.

4. In line with its inwardness, its variety, and its concreteness is the suggestiveness of the modern method. One of the chief defects of that type of preaching with which that of our own day stands in strongest contrast, and to which for purposes of contrast constant reference has been made, was that it valued the subject at the expense of the object of the sermon. In seeking to do "justice to the subject," it did injustice to the object. What the preacher sought was an overwhelming mental impression. He affected an inventiveness and exhaustiveness of argument that would irresistibly convince the hearer and leave him no standing ground for question or objection. He would say all that could be said about his theme, and what he said sometimes lost sight of the practical interests of the hearer. The treatise may say all that it wishes to say and all that can be said, but what the preacher says must be conditioned by a valid reason for saying it at all. It is the object that should determine the handling of the subject. The preacher who puts all his strength into the subject overworks it, and it becomes ineffective. Preaching that follows a logical scent, one related thought in the line of development suggesting another, and this still another, and on indefinitely, piles together a bulky mass of topics and subordinate topics and sub-thoughts, and when the end comes the subject is exhausted, and the audience, and perhaps the preacher too. Over against

the elaborate and exhaustive stands the suggestive method. Robertson, in this as in all else a preacher of the highest rank, uttered the true modern note in announcing it as one of his regulative homiletic principles to preach suggestively rather than exhaustively. We hear much of suggestive preaching in our day. There is confessedly a little vagueness about the term. And yet its general import is evident. Compendiously, then, that may be designated as suggestive preaching that undertakes to regulate the discussion of the subject in such way as will win from the hearer an emotional interest and enlist his sympathetic participation in the discussion. But let us analyze the conception a little more closely. It presupposes as its basis a presentation of the truth to the intelligence of men. It must get hold of the minds of men. If it is to be suggestive, something must be suggested. Intelligence must have something to work upon as its foundation. It will deal, therefore, with important Christian themes. What is of no importance, or what is relatively insignificant, fails to move the intelligence of men. Suggestive preaching, therefore, is fundamentally and characteristically didactic. The preacher seeks to commend the truth he advocates to the mental and moral judgment of his hearers. He sees that in the advancing culture of our day Christianity must meet the intellectual needs of men. He must have something that is worthy to say. He will be thoroughly possessed of his subject and will handle it with such largeness and freeness that a worthy mental impression will be made. And this leads to the suggestion that the didactic method chosen will be such as moves the mind through the imagination and gives the truth a free chance to work. Elaborate doctrinal or argumentative preaching addresses itself to the understanding. Suggestive preaching leaves something for the creative activities of the hearer. It relies upon so quickening the imagination, and thus the powers of invention, that what may be lacking in the fulness

of the preacher's presentation may be supplied by the hearer's imaginative activity. As addressing the imagination it also stimulates the emotions, for feeling and imagination are closely allied. The mind follows up the truth presented because the emotions are stirred and impel the mind to action. What creates an emotional interest results, or may or should result, in creating a more intense intellectual interest. It involves, therefore, the presentation of the truth in such way that the hearer catches it by glimpses as it were. It deals with the main features of the subject, its salient outlines, and not with its multitudinous details and in elaborate and fully developed form, hence suggestive is the antithesis of elaborate, and this is its salient characteristic. It suggests, it intimates more than is said. What is said is said with such penetrating and quickening power, with such stirring effect upon the activities of the soul, that the mind is set in eager movement along lines of related thought, and thus the bearings of the truth, its inferential productiveness, are the more readily grasped by the mind. It discloses the germinal power of the truth. Hence, the suggestive sermon moves freely and rapidly and is not overwrought in its homiletic structure. It has rhetorical facility and knows no stereotyped form, for it flows from within as from a fountain. The form is flexible, the divisions of the sermon few, and its success is not dependent on formal announcement. This simple, unelaborate form characterizes modern preaching of almost every school. Suggestive preaching also moves in the realm of life and experience, not in that of abstract thought, and it has reference to practical results. The truth presented is of such sort, and it is so presented, that experience can interpret and make it real to the hearer. It is experience that aids in disclosing its practical import. The hearer is expected to "do something about it."

5. The predominance of the literary or rhetorical as

distinguished from the dialectical quality is another characteristic of modern homiletic form. This, too, is in harmony with qualities already suggested. The preacher aims at simplicity of structure and simplicity of style. As the elaborate dialectical method of discussion that characterized the preaching of the eighteenth century is discredited, so also is its elaborate and stately rhetorical style. It is regarded as overwrought and stilted. No representative of the ornate, high-flying style, sometimes called Ciceronian or Johnsonian, remains among the prominent preachers of our day, and such as may have resisted the rhetorical and oratorical influences that belong to the culture of our time, and have perpetuated the style of other days, have lost prestige as preachers. The preaching of our day is more colloquial, and, if one may so say, more confidential. The preacher is nearer to his audience and is freer in his communication and more direct in his address. And since the extemporaneous method brings speaker and audience into closer relation, the modern preacher affects this method. With colloquial simplicity and naturalness may be associated clearness and cogency. It is the clearness of truth that is copiously illustrated and has the vividness of imaginative representation. It has also the cogency of a more vigorous diction, for it is the language of common life and it speaks with the greater force because the hearer is familiar with it, and because the common images of thought strike the mind the more forcibly when brought into relation with what is less familiar.

We may detect the influence of the modern deliberative and judicial type of oratory and of the modern newspaper upon our style of preaching. It has the businesslike quality that marks all our methods, and when at its best it discloses the excellencies of our literary culture.

But it is not always at its best. This tendency to freedom and familiarity may degenerate, and not infrequently does

degenerate, into colloquial and undignified homeliness and a mental condescension that is marked by coarseness and vulgarity. Thinking to bring himself to the level of the needs and tastes of the populace, the preacher becomes flippant and shallow and commonplace, and cheapens his work and dishonors his office and his calling. The pulpit has not escaped the influence of the sensational newspaper. It is an excess even unto the grossest perversion and deformity that converts the concrete, illustrative, and practically effective method into a vulgar sensationalism. Sensational preaching is certainly not confined to the modern pulpit. It has had its run in other ages to an even larger extent and in grosser form, and it has always marked a degeneracy in the preaching of the age. It is a concession to vulgarity that is intolerable. Its worst feature is its wild grotesqueness and startling contradictions of thought, its immoral exaggerations of statement that have all the effect of untruth, or even of downright falsehood that leaves an unwholesome result in the imagination and feeling and moral character of both preacher and hearer. But this taste for rhetorical novelties, exaggerations, and grotesque vagaries of thought and expression is a perversion, and not a normal development, of the culture of the time. Even in this regard the modern pulpit is far in advance of that of ruder ages of the past, and is on the whole marked by a superior sobriety of judgment and of taste. But the self-respecting, serious-minded preacher has this vulgarity and degeneracy to meet, and he has to meet the active, busy spirit behind it, that clamors for excitement and entertainment in the house of God, clamors for what calls itself pithy and smart and timely and would convert the pulpit into a competitor with the playhouse, the circus, and the Sunday newspaper. It must meet that degenerate section of the public that accounts for a sensational pulpit and that is fed by the modern abomination of yellow journalism. It is only

an educated and high-minded public and ministry that will dislodge from the pulpit this degenerate phase of a popular and effective type of preaching, which will not subordinate substance to form, or permanent to transient effects.

To summarize briefly, then, the results of our discussion it may be claimed that the preaching which at its best may be called characteristic of our day has certainly a sounder philosophical and theological basis, for it is grounded in a better theory of religious knowledge, and in a more adequate conception of God, and of his relation to the universe; it represents a more defensible conception of supernatural Christianity, and is therefore more reasonable, because more natural in the large acceptance of that term, and hence more intelligible in its presentation of the truth; it is more distinctively historical in its basis and less abstract and speculative, for its deals with the subject-matter of positive historic religion; it is more discriminating in its use of Biblical sources, for it is subject to the critical spirit of the time; it handles a more distinctively Christian subject-matter and especially a more distinctively Christian type of ethics, for it gets nearer the heart of the living historic Christ and knows Him more completely in His central and comprehensive significance for all human life. In its best estate, therefore, it is more spiritual as distinguished from one-sidedly intellectual in its tone; it has a more decisively practical and missionary quality, for it knows Christianity more adequately as a race religion and as a universal and pervasive life; it has, therefore, a broader scope and deals with a larger range of human interests; it is more concrete in its representation and more direct in its application of Christianity to human life; it has a better literary quality, is more intellectually suggestive, more sympathetically human in its outreach into the life of men, and more ethically strenuous in its application of Christianity to the conduct of life. All this will be recognized by the careful

student of the subject, and much of it is obvious at the surface. And much of all this must be recognized as measurably due, directly or indirectly, to those influences — intellectual, ethical, religious, æsthetic and literary — that originated in Germany and which have passed, to use Emerson's words, "by balloon or by underground railroad" to other countries, especially to Great Britain and to the United States. It is, therefore, desirable in prosecuting still further our study of the modern pulpit to consider the preaching of different nationalities and schools, and it is natural that we should begin with the German pulpit.

CHAPTER IV

MODERN PREACHING AS REPRESENTED BY DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNIONS

I

THE GERMAN PULPIT

THE German pulpit has made no very strong impression upon the modern world at large, nor has it made any very valuable contribution to the technical aspects of modern preaching. This is due in large measure to certain inherent defects which have precluded any very wide-reaching or intelligent interest in it. But it reflects in some large measure, either directly or indirectly, the influences of German thought, culture, and piety that were prevalent during the last century, and it is characterized, moreover, by certain excellencies of its own that are worthy of attention. It becomes, therefore, an important subject of investigation, and no intelligent study of modern preaching will fail to acquaint itself with it.

The writer cannot claim an extensive knowledge of the preaching of Germany, nor personal acquaintance with living German preachers. The few to whom he once listened have already finished their work, and the more prominent living preachers he knows only in limited measure through their published products and especially in their contributions to homiletic journals. But such German homiletic literature is quite extensive, and one may gain a fair knowledge of German preaching, even by a somewhat limited study of individual men through their more and even less distinctively homiletic work.

I.

Before entering upon an analysis of the salient characteristics of German preaching in general, let us attempt an examination of some of the schools that represent it. We naturally classify German preachers according to their prevailing theological tendencies. This is the basis of classification that one is likely to find in German homiletic works.[1] The German preacher is always something of a theologian. His theology, indeed, never appears to any very considerable extent directly or in a formal manner, save in exceptional, occasional instances in the pulpit. He never parades his science in popular religious discourse. The elaborately wrought sermon that speaks prevailingly to the understanding and seeks edification by increase or correction of theological knowledge is not at all in line with the homiletic theories or habits of any school of modern German preachers, even the most dogmatic. Theological indoctrination by the pulpit at least is not regarded as necessary to religious edification. The persuasive always dominates the didactic quality. The intellectual factor is somewhat meagre, but feeling and sentiment abound. Moreover, the German preacher is less subject than the British, French, or American preacher to those influences that affect the formal quality of preaching. Pulpit oratory and rhetoric have apparently never been cultivated in Germany to any very considerable extent. The German preacher generally cares apparently but little for questions of literary or rhetorical or oratorical form. He lays chief stress upon edification by spiritual incentive, and the rhetorical or oratorical interest is entirely subordinate to this supreme object. It would be exceedingly difficult, therefore, to classify German preachers according to methods of formal homiletics. Our classification, therefore, must

[1] E.g. "Zur Geschichte der Predigt in der Evangelischen Kirche," etc. Ludwig Stiebritz. Gotha, 1875.

be material rather than formal, and the theological tendency will have chief material significance. For the preacher's theological point of view is pretty sure to disclose itself in the fibre of his thought and the tone of his feeling, although it may not appear in explicit or obtrusive form.

One may become fairly well acquainted with some of the leading German preachers of our own day by a careful examination of homiletic journals that represent different theological or ecclesiastical or homiletic interests. There are three which the author has found of interest and value. Oehler's "Zeitschrift für Pastoral-Theologie," entitled "Halte was du hast," represents the evangelical churches and in a moderate way is devoted to the confessional interest. Kleinert of Berlin and Köstlin of Friedberg are coeditors with Oehler. The "Zeitschrift für Praktische Theologie," Basserman of Heidelberg editor-in-chief, with the coöperation of Holtzman of Strassburg and Nippold of Jena, and others, may be said to be devoted to the interests of the broad wing of the school of Schleiermacher. "Die Predigt der Gegenwart für die evangelischen Geistlichen und Gemeinden," edited by Dr. Wendel, with the coöperation of Hilgenfeld of Jena, Hausrath of Heidelberg, as well also as Holtzman and others, seems to represent the liberal school. In all of these journals may be found sermons of various sorts—festal sermons, baptismal sermons, confirmation sermons, candidate sermons, and ordinary pastoral sermons, by German professors, church officials, pastors, and candidates of our day, all of which illustrate varieties of theological point of view, as well as different homiletic methods. One finds here also meditations, plans, and sketches in great abundance. These journals furnish a very good basis for estimating the condition of homiletic science in Germany, as well as the condition of church life and the developments of practical theology in general. But in the choice of representatives of different schools

of German preachers it has seemed preferable to select those whose names are well known otherwise than as preachers, and who for the most part have already finished their work.

i. The confessional school of preachers may first be considered. They are adherents of theological tradition, successors under new conditions of the old orthodox school that fought the pietists and subsequently joined hands with them in fighting the rationalists. They are less subject than other schools to modern influences, and are largely members of the old Lutheran church, although representatives of the Reformed church are also numbered with them.

The influences that promoted the revival of confessionalism in the early part of the last century, it will be recalled, were partly political. The Prussian government availed itself of the new historic interest that had been awakened in the old confessions of the church and in the Lutheran body, especially in connection with the tricentenary of the Reformation, as a favorable moment to push the movement on and to effect a closer alliance between the church and the state. But it was more largely a reactionary theological movement in which protest was made against the union of the two chief branches of the German church. The union was completed in 1830, four years before the death of Schleiermacher, who with his school were its most earnest ecclesiastical supporters. But on specific theological grounds and in general revolt against the influence of the subjective theology of the school of Schleiermacher, many of the Lutheran and some of the Reformed churches and their church leaders broke with the union and now constitute a distinct theological party. In spite of themselves they have been variously influenced by the movements of modern thought and life, and manifest different tendencies. Those who are prominent in our own day are much more moderate in tone and temper than their

homiletic ancestors and are content to present the saving truths of supernatural Christianity as they understand them in a characteristically earnest and sympathetic German manner. There is a good deal of this type of evangelical preaching in the German churches that has steered clear of the radicalism of German liberalism and the vagueness of German mysticism. But as a school these confessionalists represent the old dogmatism of the German pulpit, although in modified form. They make the old confessions of the church their anchorage ground, and they follow the dogmatic method in presenting the old truth. In their point of approach and departure and in their methods they differ widely, and there is a good deal of variety in their preaching. Some of them are strongly rhetorical in their tendencies. Some of them are prevailingly ethical, some are characteristically Biblical, others are strongly emotional and pietistic and others still are vigorously polemical.

1. To the highly rhetorical and popularly effective confessional preachers belonged Claus Harms, to whom reference has already been made. He was a prominent influence in starting the confessional movement in the early part of the last century, and a vigorous promoter of it throughout his entire life. Originally a rationalist, he was rescued by Schleiermacher's "Discourses," which soon after their publication fell one evening into his hands and which in his eagerness he devoured, it is said, at a single sitting. These discourses contributed to him "an eternal movement," and the movement set him against the rationalism of his day, of which he became one of the most vigorous antagonists. In imitation of Luther he published ninety-five theses against the new popery of reason and against theological latitudinarianism and other ecclesiastical evils of his day as he conceived them. He was a Biblical preacher after a sort, although preferring the topical method, holding that the preacher "may neither add

to nor take away from the teachings of the Scriptures," and that it is his function not only to explain, but to "illustrate the Scriptures." But he held also that such use of the Scriptures must be "within the limits of the teachings of the church, *whose dogmas are commands*." [1] Although stoutly orthodox and defending church doctrines with rude vigor, he did not, however, follow the method that was common with the dogmatists of a previous period. He was individualistic to an extreme. He disliked the formal and stately style of Reinhard and his school, and preferred the offhand, unconventional, popular style of Luther, which he made his model. He sought to reach the heart directly and by no roundabout process, holding with Tholuck that it is not necessary nor possible most effectively to reach it by elaborate methods that appeal to the understanding. He was a man of intense feeling and was possessed of a lively imagination that was caught by the historic drapery of the old Lutheran orthodoxy, as his practical sense was caught by its objective realism. With the subjective subtleties and uncertainties of Schleiermacher and his school he was constitutionally out of sympathy. He rejected all elaboration for his sermons, in his offhand fashion even advocating a certain rudeness of diction, and a certain negligé style in general, to which in his own preaching he was faithful. It has been described as "angular, sharp, pungent, like spikes and nails." His figures are striking, frequently quaint, sometimes grotesque, and thought and illustration are likely to be far fetched. His quaintness has the effect of a certain sort of originality, and in fact there is often much in his line of thought that is unique, as in his diction that is striking. His preaching was the utterance of high-wrought emotion. It was dramatic in intensity, full of odd conceits, like the early preaching of Spurgeon, abounding in citations from poetry and in old proverbs. Individualistic and capricious, he rejected

[1] Stiebritz's "Zur Geschichte der Predigt," 45.

the use of Biblical texts in his preaching, when he was so inclined or when it suited his purpose, and, strongly devoted to Biblical revelation though he was, he defended the rejection with vigor, holding that in the broader estimate preaching stands independently upon its own foundation. Rude as he was in his colloquial homeliness, he not infrequently stated the themes and the topics of his sermons in such way as to give them an elegant rhythmic movement. For example, in a sermon from Ps. lxxiii, 25, 26, entitled "Loss and Gain," a sermon crowded with pithy sayings and *ad hominem* appeal after a short sympathetic address to those in the congregation who had suffered loss, without stating any theme, but rather suggesting the object of the discourse, he announces his topics in a semirhythmical manner as follows: I. Gold lost is something lost. II. Honor lost is much lost. III. God lost is everything lost. As a preacher he was quite unique, and as far remote from the ordinary type of German preaching as Guthrie from that of Scottish preaching. He was of peasant origin, and, although an educated man, was a born preacher for the populace. He knew the popular mind and heart as perhaps no other preacher of his day. He had great power in individualizing his hearers, was skilful in the *ad hominem* appeal, as was Spurgeon, of whom in many things he reminds us, and cherished the ambition not merely of reforming German theology, by leading it out of the toils of rationalism, but of reforming the method of German preaching, in both of which ambitions, especially the latter, he was measurably successful. Inimitable and undesirable as a model, he had many followers in some of his pulpit methods. In many of the larger communities of Germany there have been many preachers since his day who have combined much of his vigorous orthodoxy, ardent piety, and popular impressiveness.

2. There is a class of confessional preachers who give themselves chiefly to the task of interpreting and enforcing

the ethical or in general the practical aspects of the dogmas of the church. They are not supremely interested in church dogmas simply as such, and do not accept indoctrination as the supreme aim of preaching. They have found the ethical bearings of church doctrine, and are intent upon applying them. They may be called ethical confessionalists, and in this they show the influence of modern life upon them. Among them may be mentioned Harless, Reinhard's successor as court preacher at Dresden, connected also with Leipzig University as university preacher, and finally president of the Munich Consistory and editor of the *Journal for Protestantism and the Church.* Contemporary with Harms and Hengstenberg, he outlived them both and died in the last quarter of the century. He had nothing of the rude vigor of the one nor the polemical fierceness of the other. He was one of the first theologians of his day, a man of extensive learning, of critical scholarship, and an interesting and effective preacher, of much emotional fervor, and of an elevated, dignified, and more concrete style than is common with the university preachers of his school. He was author of the first work on Christian ethics that was issued in Germany in the nineteenth century. It is an exposition of the ethical content of the religion of redemption and discloses the Lutheran dogmatic point of view. It discusses the moral bearings of the great truths of redemptive religion as represented in the Lutheran confessions. It is eminently fruitful in suggestion, devout and dignified in feeling, elevated in diction, helpful to the Christian life, and is worthy of any man's careful study. He published several volumes of sermons, among them twenty discourses on the "Kingdom and the Power of Christ." They suggest the general substance and aim of his preaching. Its aim is to exalt Christ as the Lord and Redeemer of men, and to present him to them as their helper in sin and distress. His message was one of hope and good cheer. He could

not separate the moral ideal from its exemplification in Christ, and never failed to bring the hopes and promises of the Gospel of Grace into relation with the claims of moral law. In the freshness of his thought, the clearness of his outline, the perspicuity, dignity, and concreteness of his literary style, he was an acceptable preacher, not only to university audiences but to the common people, and in the highest sense of the term may from the German point of view be called a popular preacher.

3. As representative of what may be called the class of Biblical confessionalists, Rudolph Stier of Eisleben may be named. He was a warm friend of the chief representatives of the mediating school, but he held tenaciously to the old faith of the Lutheran church, and especially to somewhat extreme views of Biblical inspiration. He was well known to the theological students of this country and of England of a past generation by his edifying work, "The Words of the Lord Jesus." He was a man of devout and pious heart and of practical tact. He interpreted Scripture in the spirit and somewhat in the manner of Bengel, of whose "Gnomon" he was a diligent student. He published several volumes of sermons, all of which are of the expository and applicatory sort. The themes and the topics of the discourses are largely stated in Biblical language, are simple in outline and therefore easily followed, and their subject-matter is full of quickening and edifying suggestion. He published a volume on preaching, in which he called for a return to the old Biblical method. He advocated what Americans call the evangelistic type of preaching, and is called by Germans "mission preaching," and he distinguished between it and the pastoral type with which ordinary homiletics deals. His discourses, accordingly, are of the animating and quickening sort, often semimystical and vague, but full of genuine, devout, and earnest German feeling.

4. There is a class of confessional preachers that

represent in an eminent degree what may, with modifications, be called the pietistic tendency. The entire school, indeed, has revealed the influence of an awakened religious life as the dogmatic Anglicans of England have disclosed it, and it perpetuates much of the old pietistic spirit. It is far removed from the dead orthodoxy of a former period. But there are those who are more highly emotional and pietistic in their preaching than others, and may be compared with the so-called evangelical Anglican preachers. Among the best known to the English and American public was Friedrich W. Krummacher. He was a Halle graduate, and received strong incentive from Knapp, the orthodox supernaturalist, in opposition to the rationalism of Wegschneider, who also was his teacher. He became a successor of Schleiermacher at Trinity Church, Berlin, and by the appointment of the then Prussian king was subsequently made court preacher at Potsdam. He was appointed professor of theology at the seminary of the American German Reformed church in the state of Pennsylvania, but declined in favor of Professor Schaff. His biographical discourses on the prophet "Elijah the Tishbite" and upon "Elisha" are well known and have been widely read. The volume entitled "The Suffering Saviour," originally a volume of sermons on the Passion of our Lord, condensed, modified somewhat, and translated into English, illustrates still more fully his homiletic peculiarities. He was stoutly orthodox as well as intensely pietistic, holding that it is useless to talk of a Christian church where the Godhood and the God manhood of Christ are denied. His preaching was highly emotional, setting forth in vivid poetic imagery the great outstanding doctrines of the orthodox faith. His discourses are dramatic in tone, highly exclamatory, direct in appeal, continuously as well as at the close, clear in outline, with topics stated at the outset and repeated in the discussion, a topical preacher using categories that are Biblically suggested. They are dogmatic in tone and

method, often polemical, with a certain lofty scorn for the poor unbeliever and with a not infrequent ringing note of irony in his denunciation of modern unbelief, but are fresh and striking and sometimes quaint, with a certain epigrammatic brevity and at the same time rhythmic grace in the statement of themes and topics. He also reminds us in many respects of Spurgeon, and he illustrates the power of a great preacher to make the old truths of the church attractive, and he discloses their responsiveness to the realistic and at the same time highly imaginative method of treatment. He was a natural orator, in this somewhat exceptional among German preachers, with a massive personality and a sonorous voice, capable of producing strong oratorical effects.

5. To the class of highly polemical confessionalists belonged preëminently Hengstenberg of Berlin, to whom also reference has already been made. He does not occupy a prominent or permanent place simply as a preacher, and has made no valuable contribution to German preaching. But on account of his eminence in the confessional school he deserves a passing notice. He was accepted as the leader of the orthodox party. He had great vogue in Berlin, and when he died in 1869 the writer recalls the loud lamentations of the theological journals of his school and of the public press of Berlin in general, as if the sun had been blotted from the theological heavens. He had, in fact, no successor who was his equal in ability as a leader, and happily none that was his equal in polemical virulence. He was the great orthodox warhorse, a man of arrogant spirit, of loose and abusive tongue, not always overscrupulous in ecclesiastical and theological warfare, lacking in candor, unreasonable and extravagant, an ecclesiastical politician who coveted and who won the favor of the political conservatives of the Prussian government, but withal a man of notable intellectual power, and of wide-reaching influence as an ecclesiastical leader. Originally

of the Reformed church, which to a large extent was absorbed in the Union, he was won over to the opposition and spent the remainder of his life in fighting those whom he regarded as enemies of the faith once delivered to the Lutheran saints. As a public speaker his power of statement was notable, and he was capable of making a powerful impression upon an audience. In all his writings he showed a corresponding power.

6. There is a class of modified confessional preachers who are more moderate and modern in spirit and tone. In their ecclesiastical theories some of them are high churchmen, and are extremely conservative in politics, holding tenaciously to the state church as the defence of orthodoxy. It is the school to which Delitzsch and Vilmar belonged. Many of them, however, have come under the influence of modern ideas, have close-touching points with the evangelical liberals or the mediating school, would interpret the faith of the church measurably in the light of modern culture, and believe in theological progress. Two or three of the more prominent representatives of this moderate confessional tendency may be mentioned. Kahnis, professor of theology at Leipzig, and canon of one of the cathedrals of Saxony, was one of them. He is favorably known in his work on the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit. He had affiliations with the school of Schleiermacher, and his variations from Lutheran orthodoxy are recognized in his Bibliology and Christology. He was a university preacher and his discourses bear the academic mark. Two volumes of these discourses he published. They are thorough in their discussion of doctrinal subjects, and are not popular in style. Yet they are full of suggestive Biblical material and abound in illustrations from the realm of history and of nature. They suggest a background of philosophic culture in the preacher, illustrate his skill in psychological analysis, and are not lacking in ethical cogency. A devout spirit pervades his discourses

as well as other writings and they are not without traces of the literary and artistic gifts with which he was endowed.[1] He handled his subjects in a simple and clear manner and expressed himself in a dignified but also in a sympathetic and somewhat illustrative manner.

Luthardt, professor also of theology at Leipzig and canon of the cathedral to which Kahnis was attached, was a prominent academic preacher of this school. He is well known in his apologetic lectures on the "Fundamental Truths of Christianity," and on the "Moral Truths of Christianity," which have been translated and published by the Clarkes of Edinburgh. In his communion he was a preacher of wide reputation, and published the product of his preaching activity in five volumes of sermons. His literary quality was noteworthy. He spoke with clearness, conciseness, and grace, illuminating his discourses with concrete examples and figurative illustrations. His outlines are clear and logical, and his introductions full and luminous. Like all German preachers, he aimed at ethical and spiritual impression, but he was also an instructive preacher, seeking edification in part by enlarging and correcting the hearer's knowledge of the great truths of Christianity.

Thermin, who, although a Frenchman by birth, and sharing the rhetorical gifts of his race, was a Berlin pastor, court preacher there, and subsequently professor of homiletics in the University, may be numbered with this wing of the confessional school, although without the harsh and dogmatic tone that characterized some of his associates. He was a most fertile preacher and has left behind ten volumes of sermons in illustration of his productiveness. He was a topical preacher, after the characteristic French method, with a facile, suggestive use of texts, orderly method, polished diction, and was most skilful in conducting a solid argument in an attractive rhetorical manner.

[1] Lichtenberger's "History of German Theology," etc., 460.

He was a man of genuine poetic temperament, fascinating in the color of his literary style and in the striking character of his themes. His work entitled "Eloquence a Virtue," translated by the late Professor Shedd, in which he discusses the ethical significance of the work of preaching, has had wide circulation and is of great homiletic value. It suggests the ethical quality of his own preaching.

ii. The liberal school of preachers represents a great variety of philosophical and theological tendencies, greater probably than any other class of German preachers. More fully than any other school are they under the influence of modern German scientific culture. They wish to be regarded, and doubtless are entitled to the distinction, of being the representatives in the pulpit by preeminence of modern thought, conserving in the sphere of religion the interests of science. They are for the most part political as well as theological liberals, defending the interests of liberty in both spheres. The term "rationalist" is no longer applicable to them, for rationalism has undergone great changes and no longer means what it once meant. If the term is made to mean, in general, the tendency to minimize the supernatural element in Christianity, then these liberals may be called rationalists, for in this they are in general agreement. But this is a modified and illegitimate use of the term. Some of them are followers of Hegel, are adherents of the destructive school of Biblical criticism, and are extreme radicals. Some follow the general lead of Strauss, and some of Baur, and others of the later idealistic school. Some belong to the left wing of the school of Schleiermacher and others to the school of Kant. The new idealistic school of critics has probably the larger following among the liberal preachers of our day.

1. Of the old rationalistic school of preachers there are probably but few left in the German pulpit. There are

none of the old-fashioned pre-Kantian rationalists, whom Kant, as well as Schleiermacher, successfully fought. Wegschneider of Halle, whom Tholuck and Müller antagonized, was one of the Kantian rationalists who made himself felt in the University pulpit. Paulus was another. Röhr, superintendent of Weimar, known as the Weimar pope, on account of his dogmatism and arrogance, and Ammon of Dresden, known also, and for the same reason, as pope of Dresden, were also of this school. Of all forms of mysticism and pietism they were vigorous opponents, and advocates of what they understood to be the religion of reason. But some of the most radical representatives of the liberal camp have been adherents of the school of Hegel and have followed the old Tübingen critics. They start with the assumption that the supernatural elements in the Gospel narratives are unhistoric because antecedently improbable, if not impossible. God, who in his progressive self-disclosure distributes himself throughout humanity as a whole and throughout the whole course of human history, cannot be contained in a single historic personality. An absolute religion cannot be revealed by any single historic character. To conceive of Christ as a supernatural character is a contradiction of the whole course of historic development. In explaining Christianity, therefore, these men assume that it has undergone various transformations by the operation of perverting agencies. We have not the original Christianity of Christ at all. The ideal supernaturalism of Paul is one of these perverting agencies. To get back to primitive Christianity we must strip it of its Pauline supernaturalism. These views may be shared by the new liberals, who do not follow Hegel and the older Tübingen critics, but not with all the presuppositions or preassumptions involved.

Prominent among the preachers who made an honest attempt to fit Christianity into the framework of the Hegelian philosophy was Marheinecke, professor of

theology in Berlin, and colleague with and ultimately successor to Schleiermacher at Trinity Church. It has been said of Schleiermacher that it is surprising how much Christianity he succeeded in getting inside his pantheistic framework. The remark is more manifestly applicable to his Hegelian successor. His success in Hegelianizing Christianity may be questioned. But the honesty of his effort and the genuineness of his Christian spirit there is no occasion to doubt. His words of reverence for Christ have the ring of reality. He declares that only as our spirit is illuminated by the spirit of Christ are we able to comprehend divine things. He proclaims that Christ is as essential to our life as light to our eyes, or as the sun to day, and as to the necessity of His death he says that "the grandest, the dearest, and highest of blessings can be obtained only by the grandest, dearest, and highest of all sacrifices." He was a man of most benignant spirit, and despite the depth of his thought and his strongly scientific tendencies, he was in a worthy sense, from the German point of view, a popular preacher. His exposition was thorough and comprehensive and his style elevated, clear, and elegant. Several volumes of sermons remain to perpetuate his memory as a preacher.

2. The new school of liberal preachers is representative of views that have been modified by ethical and religious as well as philosophical influences. Some of them, like Pfleiderer of Berlin, interpret Christianity in the light of Hegel and of Schleiermacher. Others, like the Ritschlian school, among whom Kaftan, Dorner's successor, may be numbered, in the light of Kant and Schleiermacher. We cannot fail to detect the influence of Schleiermacher especially in the modifications German liberalism has undergone. Upon the old rationalistic foundation they have engrafted new and richer elements of subjective religion, and although following the modern philosophers many of them profess to represent Luther's fundamental religious

principles. De Wette was one of the first to sympathize with Schleiermacher in the effort to differentiate religious thought from religious feeling, and to defend religion upon its own ground as an inner, self-evidencing reality. They find in various forms of subjective experience, ethical and spiritual as well as rational, a test for all alleged external revelation. They in general rule out the miracles as having, in their apprehension, no significance for the religious life. Christianity is of supreme value only for its ethical and spiritual principles. They constitute the nucleus of the Protestant Union, and stand between the older radical and the orthodox and mediating schools. Their attitude is one of freedom with respect to the creeds of the churches, like the liberals of Great Britain and the United States, although some of them perhaps are nearer to what would call itself an evangelical basis. Most of them also are committed to the liberation of religion from political as well as theological domination, and are political as well as theological liberals.

Hase of Jena, a man of mystical tendencies, a vigorous opponent of the old rationalistic school, comparable with Dr. Edmund H. Sears, the American Unitarian, was one of the most interesting representatives of the liberal school, but is better known to the English-speaking world through his theological than through his homiletic products.

Rückert, also of Jena, like Schleiermacher educated at the Moravian school at Niesky, at once a Kantian and a follower of Schleiermacher, was one of the ablest and most effective preachers of this school. Lichtenberger[1] says of him: "He attached great importance to preaching. His sermons were distinguished by a logical, vigorous concatenation of thought, great popularity, practical penetration, and profound seriousness. He had a burning love for the poor. Valiant, manly, and modest he loved to revive the

[1] "History of German Theology in the 19th century," 550.

religious recollections of the past, while attaching himself to a more rational and more critical theology."

Schwartz, court preacher at Gotha, follower of Hegel and of Schleiermacher, is also a representative of the speculative school of liberal preachers. The influence of Hegel is seen in his daring speculations and in his iconoclastic tendencies, which, however, do not appear in his preaching. The influence of Schleiermacher is seen in his devout and earnest religious feeling and in his exuberant romanticist enthusiasm. His sermons are pervaded by the liberal spirit of his time and endeavor to voice the needs of his time, but, as is common with modern German liberal preachers, there is no tone of destructive radicalism. He thinks that the traditional theology has dehumanized Christianity, and he calls for a return to the Christ, who is the true and complete ideal of humanity. Such a Christ only can be the world's Redeemer. He portrays with great skill and force this ideal humanity of Christ, and he illustrates in an eminent degree the power of the German preacher in presenting his thoughts, however liberal they may be, or however variant from the traditional theology, in the garb of a quasi-evangelical piety, and with the decorations of an imaginative, emotional, and sentimental rhetoric. In his emotional exuberance he sometimes begins his sermon with a religious hymn, and not infrequently closes it with an earnest prayer, and the entire discourse is likely to be filled with pious and poetic sentiment, interspersed with most affectionate exclamatory utterances to his hearers. Some of his sermons may be found in translated collections representative of what is known as the evangelical pulpit.[1]

Schenkel of Heidelberg, professor of theology, director of a preacher's seminary there, and university preacher, should be mentioned as a distinguished representative of the liberal school, because of his prominence as a sup-

[1] See "The Foreign Protestant Pulpit," London, 1869, 2 vols.

porter of the Protestant Union, which originated in Heidelberg and which has been one of the chief supports of the liberal movement. He followed Kant in the stress he laid upon the ethical element in Christianity, as his article on the conscience in the first edition of the Real Encyklopädie indicates, looking askance at the supernatural and minimizing it. But he also followed Schleiermacher in his opposition to the rationalistic moralizing of the pulpit, that sought to deal with the ethical needs of men but failed to satisfy their religious wants, and also in opposition to the unscientific dogmatizing that was incompetent to meet and grapple successfully with the principles of the radical school of critics as represented by Strauss. He was more of a rhetorician than an accurate theological thinker. He had notable skill as a church leader and organizer. As a preacher he was skilful in exegesis, was analytical and orderly in his method, strongly self-assertive in his ethical exaction, highly emotional, appealing to the hearts of his hearers, and solicitous to awaken in them an ardent love for Christ, to lead them into the fellowship of His spirit and to the realization of the fruits of it in life. Holtzman, Schenkel's colleague at Heidelberg, Lypsius of Jena, and Harnack of Berlin, are all prominent representatives of this school, although much more widely known as theologians than as preachers. All the men of this school are among the most cultivated, although in general not the most popular preachers of Germany.

iii. The preachers of the mediating school have in foreign countries probably been the most widely known, and in so-called evangelical circles the most influential of all the preachers of modern Germany. They are supernaturalists and liberal evangelicals and belong to the right wing of the school of Schleiermacher, following Schleiermacher on the religious rather than on the speculative side, and have corrected many of his defects. In philosophical tendencies they are either Kantian or Hegelian of the right

wing, in Biblical criticism reasonably cautious and conservative, and in politics they hold moderate views as to the problem of the state church, in general following Schleiermacher in this as in other respects. They hold a position midway between confessionalism and radicalism. They are at issue with the confessionalists with respect to the question of formal and unconditional subscription to the creeds of the church, and with respect to the problem of modifying them in order to meet the demands of modern thought and culture. But they are at one with them in their general effort to conserve what is permanently true in these confessions. They may be called Biblical and experimental rather than dogmatic evangelicals. Ecclesiastically they are broad churchmen, hostile to high-church theories, opposed to the state church and to denominational distinctions and are supporters of the Evangelical Union. In their rejection of unconditional creed subscription and in their devotion to ecclesiastical and political liberty they are in sympathy with the liberal school, but are at issue with them in their rejection of the supernatural element in Christianity or in their efforts to minimize its significance, in their critical radicalism and extreme subjective idealism. They hold to the historic basis of Christianity and respect the theology of the church. Their influence upon German evangelicalism has been great, and more effectively than any other class of German thinkers and preachers have they in time past promoted the cause of progressive orthodoxy outside Germany. The theological representatives of this school are such men as Neander, the pupil, disciple, and personal friend of Schleiermacher, disclosing the master's influence in his conception of religion, his power of ethical and spiritual analysis, his catholic conception of the Christian church and love of Christian fellowship, and in his spiritual insight into Biblical revelation. Twesten, with Donner and Lange of Berlin, Martensen, the Dutch theologian and friend of Dorner, and Hagenbach of Zurich,

belong to this group. Beyschlag should be called a liberal evangelical of this school, although nearer to the radical school than those already named. Richard Rothe, to whom, with others, reference will be made later on, the greatest of German theologians since Schleiermacher, although in his theological independence he in a sort allied himself with the liberal school by joining the Protestant Union, should be remembered as the ablest representative of the mediating school. Beck and Auberlin, although Biblical realists and in a sort disciples of Bengel and Oethinger, laying much emphasis upon miracle and prophecy as external evidences in the defence of Christianity, should also be classed with the mediating school, which, as may be readily seen, embraces a great variety of theological tendencies.

In the transformations of the previous century, pietism, like rationalism, was, as we have seen, disintegrated, and but few if any of this school are left. Its forces have been scattered and drawn off into new alliances in accordance with prevailing theological tendencies. Some of them, as already suggested, have been associated with the confessionalists. The Krummachers and the Hofackers of Würtemberg were high churchmen in their conceptions of sin and redemption, but in the emphasis they placed upon loving, personal fellowship with Christ and in the emotional and sentimental quality of their preaching they were of a strongly mystical and pietistic tendency. Many who have something of the same tendency are found with the liberals, but the larger number are found with the mediating school. With their rejection of the dogmatic principle, their respect for intellectual freedom, and devotion to theological progress, they combine, as perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of the school, reverence for and exaltation of the religion of the heart, disclosing in this preëminently the influence of Schleiermacher.

The representatives of this school who have been par-

ticularly interested in the problems of practical theology, and have been prominent, acceptable, and influential preachers, are numerous, and they have occupied positions of influence as church superintendents, counsellors of the consistory, court preachers, pastors, and university preachers. But they are also found in the humbler walks of the Christian ministry, and they are everywhere at once a liberating and conserving influence in the German churches. I select a few representative names that are well known in homiletics as in theology.

1. One of the ablest and most prominent representatives of this school, who followed Schleiermacher in his conception of religion and in his interest in the problems of practical theology, was Karl Immanuel Nitsch. The son of a Lutheran minister who was a follower of Kant and who gave his son the philosopher's name, he was thoroughly grounded in the Kantian philosophy, but regarded it as defective on the religious side. Independently he arrived at the position that religion has a sphere of its own and is not dependent upon philosophy. That the current of thought in his day, outside Schleiermacher's immediate circle, was setting in the direction of a nonspeculative and experimental type of theology is evident from the fact that when Nitsch was examined for the doctor's degree, Reinhard, who had charge of his examination, charged him with "Schleiermacherizing," to which he was able to reply that in fact he had not read Schleiermacher at all. The remark, however, sent him to the study of Schleiermacher, which was done in a characteristically independent manner, and a warm friendship sprang up between the two men. Schleiermacher did him the honor to say that he would prefer either his commendation or his censure to that of any other man. The two men are in entire agreement in the position that religion finds its centre in the domain of feeling and that theological investigation deals primarily with the realm of Christian experience, and that the investigator need not

enter the realm of speculation at all. But in expressing itself the religious life must carry with it reflective thought on the one side and ethical conviction on the other side, and must, therefore, take the form of theology and of ethics. The religious life, therefore, is a combination of devout feeling, rational thought, and moral conviction. As such it has found expression historically in the Scriptures. These Scriptures, as interpreters of religious experience, become normative for Christian truth. In this way Nitsch would correct Schleiermacher's extreme subjectivity. He was, therefore, strong in Biblical theology and equally strong in practical theology, a characteristic, in fact, of the entire mediating school of thinkers and preachers. He accomplished important results in both departments. Schleiermacher said of him that he was a man in whom "theological science and church activity were united in a personal bond." His interest in Biblical theology was tributary to his devotion to practical theology. Hence his desire to see the two main branches of the German church brought to a more Biblical basis in their confessions. He advocated a more Biblical type of preaching in the churches. In his interest in church life he preferred the life of a pastor to that of a university leader. He was connected, however, with several universities. From Wittenberg he went to Halle early in the last century. For twenty-five years he was at Bonn, where he was associated with Lücke and Bleek and with Niebuhr, and he finally became rector of Berlin University. Like Schleiermacher, he was, during his entire university career, a preacher. While at Wittenberg and Bonn he was at the head of a homiletic seminary and was a member of the church council, and at Berlin he was Schleiermacher's successor at Trinity Church. He was eminently an academic preacher, as was Canon Mozley of the Anglican church, whom in the quality of intellectual solidity and of moral seriousness he in a way resembles. He was an ardent supporter of the Evangelical Union, and

drafted its subsequently rejected creed, which was of a simple, Biblical, evangelical sort. As a representative of the mediating school, he stands between the extreme subjective and the extreme objective tendency. The term "mediating" in fact originated in the conflict between the liberals who followed Schleiermacher in his extreme subjective tendencies and the high confessionalists. Nitsch was an influential teacher, although not popularly attractive in his methods. He had something of Canon Mozley's defect, a slowness in the movement of his thought and a heavy but solid German style of speech that in a measure counterworked him. In early years he lost the opportunity to study the art of public speech, which he lived to regret. His study of classic oratory, in which he was a master, was scientific rather than artistic, and the scientific always dominated the artistic impulse. But his preaching bore the mark of great elevation and gravity of mind, and of a large and noble heart, and to the thoughtful he was an impressive preacher. While at Bonn, he published two volumes of sermons. Like all the preachers of his school, he laid chief stress upon the *facts* rather than upon the teachings of the religion of redemption. It is only the facts that adequately support and illustrate the teachings, and he finds no saving significance in the death of Christ apart from his triumph over death, in the great crowning fact of historic Christianity. As might be expected from so virile a mind, his preaching was clear, logical, and strong.

2. Tholuck was one of the most if not the most prominent preacher of his school, and in his day probably had no superior. In early years a sceptic, he was rescued by the influence of Neander. A devotee of secular literature, he was twenty years old before he had even a superficial knowledge of the Scriptures. Without the intellectual depth and strength and grasp that characterized Nitsch, he had an immense hunger for knowledge and was easily acquisitive and wide ranging in his studies. His career

at Halle, where at twenty-seven years of age he was called as Knapp's successor in theology, and where he remained for fifty-four years and till his death in 1877, was a most notable and interesting one. In coöperation with Julius Müller he won the university back to its former evangelical foundation. In philosophy and in theology he was an eclectic. He was a stimulating teacher, but more of a preacher even than a teacher. Few preachers or teachers have known young men as he knew them or have ever gained such ascendency over them. He laid stress upon the ethical significance of preaching. Preaching is "doing, not saying." The sermon has "God for its father and the human soul for its mother." Its proper subject-matter is the fundamental elements of the content of Christian faith, or the primal realities of Christian experience. Its aim is to awaken the soul and to edify in Christian piety and virtue. The tone of his preaching was supremely earnest and enthusiastic, at times passionately emotional, urgent in appeal, and almost rhapsodically pietistic, often pathetic, and, German-like, prevailingly sentimental. Ardent in his affections, fervid in his emotions, and vivid in his imagination, he had the touch of the romanticist. With a style that was singularly spontaneous and affluent, he may be called a "born preacher." He drew to a considerable extent in his preaching from the resources of his humanistic culture. His discourses were made attractive by citations of poetry, and by proverbs and quaint wise sayings, and the material was to a large extent illustrative. He dealt with subjects that secured continuity to his preaching, as seen in his discourses on the Creed, on the Lord's Prayer, and in the volume entitled "Light from the Cross." He aims at edification, but, in characteristic German fashion, he will edify not by enlargement or enrichment of religious knowledge, but by quickening, ennobling, and enriching religious feeling, thus illustrating the prevalent German habit of giving persuasion rather

than instruction the preponderance in the work of edification. This may be seen somewhat definitely in a sermon on "The Hidden Life," from the text, "Ye are dead and your life is hid," etc. Col. iii. 3, 4. The theme is thrown into the form of a proposition. He accordingly announces that his discourse "shall be confined to the proving of the truth of this sentence." This seems to commit him to an argumentative or at least a didactic discussion. But as if this were expecting too much of him, he immediately hedges, as it were, by adding that "to perceive the truth of these words there is no more required than that I should first unfold the nature of the life hid in God." Argument by exposition, therefore, is all we may expect. But we do not get even this. His exposition is only a series of sentimental reflections. Laying accent upon the religious significance of his work, and recalling that his sermon is only a part of worship, he adds, "Let us then in our worship of to-day consider the life hid in God in its beginning, in its progress, and in its end." And this is the sermon. This relating of the sermon to the worship is common with him, a valuable reminder for any preacher. His preaching bears the mark of a genuine evangelical spirit, of great catholicity and benevolence, of skilful ethical analysis, of a persuasive, practical quality, in which there is much direct appeal, of great emotional exuberance, of an easy natural method of handling the material of the sermon, in which the textual division is common, and of an affluent and often semipoetic style.

3. Julius Müller, his colleague at Halle, was not comparable with Tholuck as a preacher, but he was a much profounder theologian. His father was a clergyman. His early advantages for education were much more favorable than those of Tholuck, and they were all directly tributary to his training as a religious teacher. He was in training for the practice of law, but was persuaded by Tholuck to enter upon the study of theology. His attention

was especially directed to the ethical aspects of Christianity, a remote outcome of which may perhaps be found in his "Doctrine of Sin," a monumental work, disclosing much learning and power of investigation with some defects of method. One of the results of his legal studies may perhaps be seen in a certain tendency to make out his case by the application of a sort of theological dialectic, which discloses itself in a measure in his preaching, as well as in his theological writings. In his advocacy of the position that Christian faith has an independent sphere of its own and is not dependent upon philosophic defences, he discloses the influence of Schleiermacher, or perhaps more specifically of Neander. This influence may be seen also in his antagonism to the Hegelian school. He preached in connection with his teaching at the university, and published several volumes of sermons. His discourses are more solid, more argumentative than those of Tholuck and the style has less momentum and more weight. He was preëminently a Biblical preacher, although his discourses are topical rather than textual in form. He supports his subject by Biblical arguments, and illustrates copiously from Biblical facts and teachings. But he lays supreme emphasis upon the free and full appropriation by the preacher in the experiences of his own heart of the truth of the Scriptures. His discourses, therefore, disclose the experimental quality that eminently characterizes this whole school. They bear the mark of most serious meditation. They are pious reflections upon the great realities of religious experience. They sometimes open with prayer, more frequently they close with prayer, and they suggest how easily and naturally a pious meditation upon some sacred theme of religious experience may pass from converse with men to converse and communion with God. Without oratorical power and without any striking rhetorical excellencies, Müller's preaching is still impressive in its intellectual dignity, its moral gravity,

its Biblical insight and fertility, and its religious devoutness.

4. Ullman, who for several years was associated with Tholuck at Halle, and later with Rothe at Heidelberg, was one of the most accomplished preachers of this school. He was one of the founders of the theological "Studien und Kritiken," the organ of the mediating school, author of "The Sinlessness of Jesus," an epoch-making book, and of "Reformers before the Reformation," both well known to English readers. His kinship with Schleiermacher and with Neander is seen in the significance for apologetics which he attaches to the doctrine of the person of Christ, and especially to his sinless perfection, and in his conception of Christianity as something more than doctrine as the rationalists and confessionalists conceived it, and as something more than morality as the Kantians conceived it. With him Christianity is living fellowship with God through Christ, who is a new life power that works redemptively within the soul. He was a man of uncommon artistic equipment, a friend and companion of artists and poets, and his artistic gifts he revealed in the elegance of his literary style. During the latter period of his life he held an important position as a church official, wherein, as well as in his university professorship, he was accustomed to exercise his preaching gifts.

5. By far the ablest thinker in the mediating school, and one of its most interesting preachers, was Richard Rothe. He was a typical German investigator, introverted, fond of solitude, eager for knowledge, an independent theologian, who, in his devotion to religious and theological freedom, allied himself with the liberals of the Protestant Union, although in his pronounced supernaturalism in fuller sympathy with the mediating school of evangelicals; a man full of noble religious feeling and of a vivid imagination that was thoroughly cultivated by the study of the German poets, of whom "Novalis" was a favor-

ite; sensitively responsive to the mysteries of the universe, mystical in the type of his religious experience, and a strong antagonist of the rationalistic preaching of his day. It was doubtless through the imaginative element in his nature that the supernaturalism of Christianity took so strong a hold of him. But his scientific training was as complete as the religious and æsthetic. He was a most patient and laborious student, a man of profound insight and of wide-ranging acquisitions, thoroughly equipped in the knowledge of all branches of theology, German and other, with vast speculative ability that allied him with the religious theosophists, a follower of Neander rather than of Schleiermacher, and was attracted by the writings of Thomas Erskine the Scotchman, whose religious devoutness, theological independence, and enterprise and intellectual suggestiveness found in him a point of ready attachment. Like all the men of his school, he was thoroughly interested in Biblical and in practical theology, and he developed Christianity especially on its ethical side. His masterful work on Theological Ethics is a monument to his learning and industry, disclosing the vast erudition and the intellectual grasp of the man. His little brochure, "Zur Dogmatik," is a most interesting and attractive contribution to vital questions that were in vigorous agitation a generation ago, and has proved to be a friendly guide to many a man groping for standing ground in supernatural Christianity. Like all the representatives of the school of Schleiermacher, he was strongly interested in all church questions. He wrote a most valuable history of Christian preaching, to which reference has constantly been made by the writer of this book and to which he is greatly indebted, and he was himself an interesting and impressive preacher. Like most German preachers, he makes prominent the element of persuasion in the work of edification, and his discourses, which are in general short, do not abound in profound or striking

thought. But in their tone they are eminently Christian, aiming supremely at the exaltation of Christ and endeavoring to make him known and felt as a living, present reality in life. Clearness of thought, exceptional care in getting the main topics definitely and in clear outline before the hearer, simplicity of diction, and affectionateness of spirit are prominent characteristics. He was in the main a topical preacher, but freely used Biblical topics in his development.

It is this mediating school that touches most closely the modern evangelical church. The names of its representative men have become familiar as household words, and we have only to recall the influence they have exerted during the last generation in order to assure ourselves of their significance for us. They were the advocates of a theological and ecclesiastical freedom that was reverent and spiritual in tone. They respected all that demanded candid recognition in the rationalism of their day, all that should be conserved in its traditional theology, and all that was conducive to piety and to the rights of Christian experience. But they wrought from the basis of Biblical evangelicalism and sought to meet at once the claims of science and of religion.

II.

Whatever the diversities of German preaching, it should already have been made apparent that there are points of likeness which are largely common to all schools. Doubtless points of differentiation are less apparent to the foreigner than to the native German. But even the outlander readily detects some of the notes that are common to all types of it. What, then, are some of its prominent characteristics? We shall find many of them in line with those characteristics of modern preaching which we have already discussed. For not only German temperament but

modern German culture have conditioned these characteristics. Many of them have already emerged to view in our discussion of the different schools of German preaching. But at the risk of seeming repetition let us attempt a summary. That which will probably be recognized as most distinctive of German preaching may be called its prevailingly *subjective* quality. "Innigkeit," inwardness, is the comprehensive term, involving a great variety of qualities, that designates its fundamental peculiarity. The German mind is introverted, reflective, meditative. It has its own "innenwelt," its own inner world of ideas and feelings and sentiments to which it likes to turn and in which it likes to dwell. Mystical revery and philosophic speculation are characteristic German products, and the result manifests itself in a variety of ways in German preaching. It lacks in salient, objective, aggressive qualities. It may be called philosophical as dealing with the inner realities of things, rather than with their external and formal aspects and relations. It reflects, it holds the subject in discussion in close relation to the experiences of the inner life. It is therefore to a large extent *experimental*. It reflects what is going on in the soul of the preacher, or in the souls of his hearers, or what the preacher wishes to know as going on there and that ought to be going on there. English preaching in so far as it is dogmatic and ecclesiastical will subserve some external churchly interest, or the interest of truth as an objective reality or the cause of objective revelation. In so far as it is humanistic it will subserve some broader human interest, and it becomes objectively practical in its efforts to bring to pass determinate results in the moral world. German preaching, even of the dogmatic and confessional type, while it would subserve the interests of the cause of truth, is much more interested in relating the truth to the content of the experiences of the inner life. As experimental religion has won ascendency, as the value

of truth for the inner world and its vital relation to the content of religious experience has received new emphasis, the experimental element in preaching, even within the confessional school, has thus been greatly strengthened. It is by reason of this subjective and experimental quality that German preaching is less obtrusively practical, and enters less widely into the realm of the moral as distinguished from the religious life than English preaching. American preaching too is much more ethically cogent and rhetorically incisive. It deals more largely with concrete realities, more largely with the practical bearings of the truth, and aims more determinately at tangible results. French preaching is rhetorically brilliant. It has a descriptive, an externally obtrusive, often a concretely sensuous, quality that makes it striking and impressive. In contrast, German preaching broods upon the truth, relates it to the inner world of feeling and sentiment, and does not illustrate or enforce it so largely by the use of the external images of thought. If it is descriptive, it is to a large extent psychologically descriptive, as setting forth the realities of the inner life. It is therefore *intuitional* rather than prevailingly dialectical in its processes and methods. Not that the German mind is at all lacking in dialectical discursiveness, as it is not in capacity for imaginative representation, or in ability to grasp the objective and practical relations of the truth. It is simply that the preacher's mental movements are more largly dominated by the experiences of his inner life. Hence, while the mental movement is subjective, it lies within the realm of reality. It does not enter the realm of the abstract or of the abstruse in thought. German preaching not only rests upon an experimental basis, a basis of inner reality, but religious experience itself rests upon a historic basis. Whatever stress may be laid upon the subjective and experimental factor, like all best modern preaching, it always and in all schools relates its sub-

jective and experimental religious or reflective impulse to historic revelation. Hence German preaching always has a *Biblical quality*. No German preacher of our day, even the most advanced liberal, would think of abandoning a Biblical foundation. Whatever his conception of revelation or of the Bible, and of course men's conceptions differ very widely, he would not ignore historic religion. The Scriptures have fully recovered their place in the German pulpit, and one of the best results of the remorseless criticism to which they have been subjected is the fact that they are treated with more respect than ever before. Moreover, the textual as distinguished from the topical method is on the whole much more common than in English, American, or French preaching. It is also true that German preaching has a distinct Christological centre. German theology, in returning to the inner realm of religious experience, has led the pulpit back to a more distinctively Christian circle of ideas. Those conceptions of a living relation with the historic Christ, and those experiences of personal fellowship with him, with which the religion and theology of our day so largely deal, find abundant recognition in the preaching of Germany. The Christian conceptions of redemption and of reconciliation are made prominent. Preachers, of course, differ very widely in their conceptions of Christianity as the religion of redemption. Liberalism differs widely from confessionalism and from conciliation in minimizing or in eliminating the supernatural of Christianity. But in some form Christianity is recognized as the religion of redemption, and whatever form the conception may take, it is Christianity as a historical religion, bringing new life to men, and made real and vital in subjective experience, that is brought to men's attention.

In this recognition of the experimental and historic the German pulpit is of course not altogether peculiar, but in this matter it has led the way. The point in hand,

however, just here, is that it is the prevailing homiletic habit of the German preacher to use historic religion largely as a basis for interpreting religious experience, to carry objective revelation over into the realm of the subjective life, to strike into the innermost heart of religion, and to brood upon the subject to be presented in a meditative and sentimental and emotionally pious manner. Of course there are preachers who hold that the truth of revelation has an objective and binding authority of its own, and must be presented as from a basis of objective authority. But no German preacher of any school would claim that it may ever be presented out of relation to the realities of religious experience.

It is this subjective quality in German preaching that may account for a certain lack of *sharp*, *clear* outline in the thought of the sermon and of closeness of relation in the thought. By this it is not meant that the sermon is deficient in structural form. Far from it. The German preacher is exceptionally careful in the ordering of his thought. The outline features of his discourse are exceptionally clear and definite. It is not, however, the definiteness of a mechanical construction, but the definiteness of an organic development. It is his habit carefully to incubate his subject, to arrange its elements in order, and to push it from an inner centre outward, so that the whole mass of well-related material is broken up under the pressure, and the well-arranged groups of thought are clearly differentiated. There is sometimes a suggestion of excess of care in formal arrangement. The sermon sometimes lacks grace and facility and freedom of movement. Sometimes it almost suggests the preacher's distrust of the ability of his hearers to follow him successfully without obtruding all the points of the organism. And yet, in general, the German preacher is an excellent model in structural order. The lack of clearness or of definiteness is not in the centres or groups of thought, but in the individual

thoughts of the discussion. The material of thought, dwelt upon in a reflective manner, stands not infrequently in a certain remoteness of relation. It sometimes leaves the impression of vagueness. One wonders why the preacher should have said just what he has said, and fails to see any closeness of relation between thoughts in close juxtaposition. The cause of this is a lack of close, vigorous thinking. It is the free and easy mediative style of homiletic thought. One recognizes this not infrequently in Tholuck's preaching. Thought is loosely related and remotely suggested. It lacks closeness of logical continuity. The general current of thought flows on in a free and easy manner and with a certain diffuseness of style, thoughts are pitched into relation from a considerable distance, and the result is a certain lack of saliency in the development of the subordinate thought of the sermon as distinguished from its plan. One sees something of this even in Schleiermacher's preaching, and of this lack of saliency in the thought of his sermons he himself complained in the early part of his ministry. It is a result of the reflective, sometimes of the mystical, habit of mind.

All this involves a certain *suggestive* quality in German preaching. It is the suggestive as distinguished from the elaborately discussional quality that characterizes it. One never hears in the German pulpit so thorough a discussion in closely and logically related thought of important religious or theological subjects as one not infrequently hears, or in time past has been accustomed to hear, in the English or American pulpit. To suggest what passes in the mind somewhat freely, easily, and often remotely, rather than to discuss a subject closely and elaborately, is the German homiletic habit. The preacher dwells upon the subject emotionally, in the best sense of the word sentimentally, rather than intellectually. And his feeling and sentiment suggest more than is definitely said.

This brings us to one of the most prominent character-

istics of German preaching, its prevailingly emotional and sentimental quality, to which attention has already been directed. This is in line not only with the German's native gifts and tendencies and with his culture, but with his conception of preaching as an utterance in speech of the innermost experiences of the heart, as testimony, not as to the objective validity of the truth, but as to its reality in the inner life of religious feeling. The subject is not only thought out but felt out. It seems to be much easier for the German than for the Englishman or the American, particularly the English or American preacher, to express his religious feelings. There are indeed extra German communions that have from the first fostered a religion of the heart, whose preaching also has been and is characterized by great religious fervor. But in general English and American preaching discloses the lack of trained and cultivated religious feeling, affection, and sentiment. The German is accustomed to express his feelings in domestic and social life, and he does it the more easily in his religious life. Perhaps he has a wealthier inner life to express. But whatever the explanation of it, this is a striking characteristic of German preaching.

It is true that the German lives much in the senses. But he still has his inner world to which he retreats. The retreat of religion to its mystical home in the realm of inner experience has greatly intensified this native tendency of the German to give utterance to the feelings of the heart. The sentiments and affections in general have larger place and freer play in German than in English and American life. English and American life as well as preaching might be enriched in the domain of affection and sentiment. And a study of German preaching might be tributary to its enrichment on this side.

The *artistic* sense in the German preacher is not highly developed. He is not a natural rhetorician nor orator. At least he is not thoroughly trained as such. His rhetoric

is often effusive and extravagant, lacking in good artistic taste, and his oratory is sometimes crude and bombastic. But it must be granted that within the last few decades there has been a decided improvement in the artistic quality of German preaching. Either the demand upon the pulpit speaker is more exacting, or the preacher's demand upon himself is more exacting. Even the university lecturer no longer treats his literary style with contempt. He is forced or is inclined to better the artistic quality of his lecture.

The chief defect of German preaching is, as we have already been led to see, its *lack of intellectual fibre*. It seems to discredit the intellect, if not as the organ of religious knowledge, although this is measurably true, at all events as the instrument of religious edification. The writer once heard a German minister say that "in listening to American preachers one would imagine that they regard the intellect as the only organ of religion." The German preacher is entirely guiltless of that mistake. One would imagine that the feelings and sentiments furnish the only sphere with which the religion of the average German preacher cares to deal. It is not that the German preacher regards his congregation as too immature and unintelligent for such discussion, for he in fact preaches to a class of people who are exceptionally well instructed in the main facts and truths of Christianity. It is rather that he expects his congregation to look elsewhere for the sources of intellectual illumination. Consequently indoctrination is not his aim, but rather a form of religious edification in which the persuasive dominates the didactic element. His aim is to nurture or to stimulate religious feeling and to promote Christian piety, not to inform the understanding with theological knowledge. And this is measurably true in the liberal as in other schools of German preachers. The emotional and sentimental and unintellectual element in German preaching, which to an American audience

would be regarded as involving a species of patronage and of mental condescension on the part of the preacher, is simply normal in the German pulpit. Of course there are individual exceptions, but this lack of intellectual fibre is a common defect in German preaching.

What we call the pastoral type of preaching is in excess of the evangelistic type, as the sentimental is in excess of the didactic. There are indeed religious communions, that have broken with the old established churches of Germany, in which the evangelistic type of preaching is prevalent. Such preaching is not only in line with their theories but with their necessities. But German preaching as represented by the older communions lacks the evangelistic note and is deficient in evangelistic cogency and productiveness. It may be exuberant in pietistic utterance, but, underestimating the demand for intellectual convincement, and aiming supremely at the persuasive type of pastoral edification, it fails in evangelistic persuasion. It often assumes too much for the religious development of the congregation. It is a baptized community that has been well instructed from the first in the elements of religious knowledge and need not be regrounded by the preacher. He has only to further a life presumably already well grounded and fairly well nurtured.

In line with what has been already said, it is natural that German preaching should be relatively deficient in *ethical virility*. It is defective in ethical aim. Dealing largely with the nurture of the feelings, affections, and sentiments, it does not adequately grapple with the will. Its ethical field is greatly restricted. Its range of ethical themes is limited. As lacking in ethical aim and in ethical range it lacks in rhetorical impressiveness and in general adaptation to the practical interests of life. If on the one hand it has not adequately entered the realm of theologic thought, as has the British and American pulpit, notwithstanding the rich stores of learning at its command, on the

other hand it has failed to enter adequately into the moral life of the people. For this and other reasons it has failed to make the impression it might have made upon the modern world. The preaching of Great Britain, America, and France has furnished a better ethical ideal, and has made a stronger impression upon the people. Indeed, the preaching of Germany has, as we have already seen, often received new impulse from that of other nationalities, and in our own day there are in Germany thoughtful and aggressive men who express dissatisfaction with the condition of the German pulpit and who exalt the intellectual incisiveness and ethical forcefulness of American preaching as furnishing a model which the preachers of their own country may well adopt. And yet the German preaching of our day is on the whole of a higher order than that of the seventeenth or of the eighteenth century. It is not so strong intellectually perhaps as the preaching of the Illumination, or as that of dogmatic confessionalism. It is on the whole not so evangelical nor so evangelistic nor so popular as that of the Reformation. But as expressing and interpreting the religious life of our age, it is doubtless doing its work increasingly well, and especially in its efforts to conserve the interests of culture and of piety.

II

THE ANGLICAN PULPIT

In passing from the German to the Anglican pulpit we find ourselves in a different atmosphere. It may be roughly characterized as the atmosphere of institutional religion. There is a change from what is characteristically subjective, experimental, sentimental, to what is in general more distinctively objective, realistic, churchly. We recognize the dominance of organized religion. We discern the presence of the practical, virile, organizing, and political Anglican mind. In its best estate, more vigorous intellectually than German preaching, more widely responsive ethically to the influence of modern life, more aggressive mentally and morally in its wide invasions of the various spheres of human experience, one also detects almost everywhere in Anglican preaching the ecclesiastical note.

I.

Before turning our attention more specifically to different schools and to different individual preachers of the Anglican church, we will venture upon a general estimate of its preaching. It is indeed a venture to subject to critical analysis what must involve so large a generalization. Different schools of preachers and indeed different representatives of the same school cannot, of course, be brought to the same dead level. The three schools, high, low, and broad, of the Anglican communion have been said to have each a normal, an exaggerated, and a

stagnant type. What might be true of the normal type of any school of Anglican preachers would certainly not be equally true of the exaggerated or stagnant type. The elect preacher who represents the craft at its best can never be classified with the average preacher. The metropolitan must be differentiated from the rural preacher and the occasional from the pastoral preacher. Extensive discriminations must be assumed in this large process of generalization and must limit it. But upon a wide survey we are able to discover qualities that belong to Anglican preaching as a whole, and if they include defects that have lessened its power, the task of pointing them out is less difficult than it is agreeable. In the light of any just estimate of it, it should become evident that the great preachers of the church, like Frederick W. Robertson,[1] have not been supremely indebted to its homiletic culture.

i. It will doubtless not be claimed for the Anglican communion that it has always had, or that it even now has, an altogether adequate apprehension of the preacher's task or an adequate estimate of its importance. Preaching has not been regarded as the supreme interest. The pulpit has not been the centre of power. The Englishman is certainly not lacking in those gifts that fit one for effective public speech. England has, in fact, been noted for its orators. The Anglican church has been the home of great preachers. The age of Tillotson, Taylor, Barrow, and South bears witness, and scarcely less the age of Newman, Robertson, Magee, and Liddon. But somehow the English lawyer, politician, and statesman have a better knowledge of the art of public speech and are better trained in it than the preacher of the established church. The typical Anglican preacher discloses an inadequate conception of homiletic principles, and lacks trained rhetorical and oratorical gifts. Pressure of work in other lines

[1] See "Representative Modern Preachers," Ch. II.

of clerical service cannot altogether account for this, nor is it due to lack of generous and intelligent interest in the higher welfare of men, or of those didactic and ethical impulses which are essential to the work of the ministry. More and better work for men has never been done by the church than is done to-day. Nor is it that there is always a better market for the wares of the parish priest than for those of the parish preacher. There is an ample field here for persuasive public speech. The preacher is not at discount. Robertson, Magee, and Liddon have demonstrated that the English love of powerful and skilful oratory still lingers. But one may venture to question whether the possibilities of the pulpit are adequately estimated, or the demands upon it adequately recognized. The "speaking man" has, as Carlyle would say, "missed the point." He does not seem to cultivate those rhetorical or oratorical impulses that are necessary to drive the truth home. And all this means that the homiletical is subordinate to the liturgical and parochial interest. Of course there are well-trained preachers in the Anglican church. In London and other large centres of population there are not more effective preachers in the free churches than are to be found in the establishment. They have been painstaking students of the art of preaching, are thoroughly acquainted with its best products, and disclose the results of careful personal homiletic training. But such preachers are exceptional. They are occasional preachers, with not only unusual pulpit gifts, but with exceptional opportunities for training and preparation. The discourses one may hear from such preachers during the Lenten season and on other church days, as often from preachers of the Episcopal church in the United States, are of a very impressive character. Special seasons of the church year seem to evoke the preacher's best powers, as we have seen in the preaching, on similar occasions, of Phillips Brooks in this country. But one

may be an effective and useful preacher without being a well-trained pulpit orator. Of such trained orators there are but few in the Anglican church. It is conceded that in time past the larger number of such orators have been found in the evangelical branch of the church. Somehow oratory, pulpit and platform, has found here a more congenial sphere than in other schools. And yet it has had but little appreciable effect upon the homiletical and oratorical training of the clergy of the church in general. At the universities chief importance is attached to clerical learning, and at the theological colleges to traditional theology and to liturgical and parochial interests. One seems to detect defective culture of a sense of the clerical calling as a divine calling, defective culture of the inner life, defective recognition of the testing power of religious experience, as related to the content of Christian truth, a relative failure to interpret the truth in the light and to translate it in terms of Christian experience, and a corresponding defective recognition of the advocate function of the Christian ministry, the function namely of persuasion by the grace and power of truth experimentally tested and by a type of trained speech that is fitted to reach and influence men. Defective knowledge of the technique of the preacher's work is evident. It is not that the preacher despises rhetoric and oratory, considered as a sort of artificial appendage, as Robertson did, and as every generous, manly man will do. It is that he does not train himself to speak in a simple, straight, natural, colloquial, and so effective manner. One will indeed occasionally hear in the church something of the judicial and deliberative type of speech which one hears at the English bar, or in parliament, or on the hustings, a direct, quiet, conversational, businesslike sort of speech, of which the best English secular orators are masters. But one wonders that it has had so little influence in general upon the Anglican pulpit. If the Anglican preacher in general shares with

Robertson, as he apparently does, and indeed may well do, his contempt for the external appointments of the orator, it is unfortunately without sharing Robertson's genius for a very natural, effective, and noble species of pulpit speech. One finds in the Anglican church elaborate and permanently valuable discussions of pastoral and parochial work that are admirably tributary to the clergyman's administrative tasks. One will nowhere find wiser, more scientific, and more helpful discussions of those great problems of the Christian ministry, in connection with which the modern world is being opened up to the interest and responsibility of the church, than in that branch of it which has been most thoroughly subject to modern influences. But administration by the invention or development of elaborate ecclesiastical machineries, by the ecclesiastical appropriation of economic or sociological sciences, or by personal initiative, whether it be administration in the comprehensive or in the narrow sense, can never be the supreme interest of the Christian minister. An effective church leader in the largest and best sense must be an effective preacher. He must have a message of power for the inspiration of men. It should be a modern message that brings the old, everlasting gospel of grace, and no preacher can get on without modern training for the proclamation of it. It is a somewhat rare thing to find in any branch of the church a thorough discussion of the work of the modern preacher, and the prophecy of such works as we have is apparently of "private interpretation." The bishops are men of administrative ability, although in general not men of enterprising, aggressive leadership in questions of reform. They are men of pastoral wisdom and of institutional prudence. But the bishopric does not seem to solicit or to develop the power of the preacher. The clergy are in the main a better educated body of men than the ministers of the free churches, but Anglican learning is

not adequately represented in Anglican preaching. The slavish use of the manuscript has been common. Preachers of exceptional rhetorical or oratorical instincts, like Liddon, have indeed used it with freedom, but few preachers are trained or encouraged to throw themselves, as Robertson did, upon their resources and to develop themselves in free utterance. They are counselled to write out their sermons carefully, perhaps to memorize them, or to take notes of them into the pulpit, which is, doubtless, with limitations, good advice, but it is a hard test for the busy preacher, and he naturally falls back for support upon the pulpit crutch. The ordinary discourse is of the essay type, without unity, proportion, or climax, and is ill adapted to rhetorical or oratorical effects. Instead of being an address to be spoken to an audience with reference to definite vigorous impression, it often degenerates into a sort of semiliturgical monologue in the presence of a congregation and to match the meagre thought, what can be more lethargic than such drawling monotony or cantilating recitative of elocution! The preacher seems to forget that the congregation becomes an audience with definite, ethical claims upon him the moment he begins his discourse. But the congregation is not educated to demand much of the preacher, and he governs himself accordingly. One wonders at the stiffness and conventionality of the preacher, at a certain professional mannerism, a lack of colloquial simplicity and straightforwardness, and of that manifest ethical and emotional concentration that is conditioned by effort to reach the heart and conscience as well as intelligence of the hearer. One wonders that the great preachers of the church do not seem to have exerted any wide-reaching homiletic influence, and questions whether the influence even of Robertson may not have been greater in the free churches than in the establishment and possibly even greater in the United States than in England.

But let us come back to the point already touched upon. It is the liturgical that still dominates the homiletic interest, especially in the ritualistic churches, whose numbers and influence are increasing. A worship that is artistic and elaborate is the centre of interest, and it exacts time. The homily is often crowded into the limits of fifteen minutes. Robertson, who, it is said, conducted the service with singular impressiveness, an impressiveness all the greater that he never forgot the liturgical significance of the sermon any more than he forgot the educative significance of the liturgy, wanted forty-five minutes for his discourse, and what can the ordinary preacher do in fifteen minutes? That the sermon should be tributary to the interests of a worshipping assembly is, of course, highly important. But if the nonconforming preacher fails to recognize this in a defective valuation of preaching, the Anglican preacher fails in an undervaluation of it. The sermon would further the liturgical interest more effectively if it were elevated to the dignity that properly belongs to it, and if its impressive value were more worthily estimated. But the church exalts the liturgical, and especially the sacramental, somewhat at the cost of the homiletical, means of grace. After a thoroughly vigorous, effective presentation of the message of God's grace to the ear, by which the hearer is brought into the immediate and unmediated presence of God, it is not uncommon for the preacher suddenly to turn, as Canon Liddon often did, and drag him back into the presence of the sacraments of the church, as the supremely necessary media of redemption, or to insist upon allegiance to some dogma of the church as an efficacious or even essential means of grace. Why is it that soul culture through sacraments that speak to the eye often ultimates in undervaluation of soul culture through the word that speaks to the ear, and to the heart the more persuasively that it does speak to the ear, which is the doorway nearest

the inner life? The Oxford movement has extravagantly furthered this sacramental conception of the means of grace. Dr. Arnold was right in his charge against the Tractarians that with them, "the sacraments, and not preaching, are the sources of divine grace."[1] Thus it is that in the established church it is the clergyman, the parson, or the parish priest that comes to the front, and not, as in the free churches, the preacher. One questions also whether the dominance, not to say tyranny, of the Christian year, with its necessary multiplication of public services, and its necessary repetition of themes and texts, may not measurably limit the effectiveness of Anglican preaching, partly by diminishing the preacher's sense of the importance of the individual sermon, or by limiting his time of preparation, or by overtaxing his homiletic inventiveness.

Moreover, the social, political, and ecclesiastical influence of the church measurably supersedes the demand for pulpit effectiveness. It has the prestige of an establishment. Its Christianity is institutional and it handles a vast combination of organized forces. The clergyman is conscious of his ecclesiastical strength. For his influence he is not dependent upon his resources as a preacher. The free-church minister must trust largely to his own personal force, especially to his power as a preacher, or rather to a power above him, and not to a great institution, for his effectiveness in reaching his fellow-men. He has no ecclesiastical or political prestige, and he has the harder task. He lives under a sort of ecclesiastical incubus. The establishment overshadows him. Happy is he if he escape the arrogance, or the condescending patronage, of his professional brethren, whose peer in all high ministerial virtues he may be, but never his equal in the high prerogatives of the established order. He must gird

[1] Introduction to Rugby Sermons, quoting from "Tracts for the Times."

himself. He must reach men by agencies that the churchman may afford or thinks he may afford to minimize. He must train himself as an effective preacher, and all the more necessary is it because the class which he must reach has for generations been educated to respect good preaching and is, as of education and habit, responsive to it. From the rhetorical and oratorical point of view, therefore, the free-church pulpit is more effective than that of the establishment. And it is this, in large measure, perhaps, that accounts for the increasing power of English nonconformity.

ii. The note of conventionality in Anglican preaching already incidentally referred to may be further considered. It suggests the dominance of tradition and custom. This is in line with the ecclesiasticism, the institutionalism already spoken of. The typical Anglican is a traditionalist, and therefore a conservative. Ecclesiastical custom is the common law of the church, as precedent is the common law of the state. All this, doubtless, has its partial justification. It is, in some sort, a source of strength to the church. But in its extreme form it becomes conventionalism. It suggests undue regard for what is external and unessential. There is often a suggestion of the artificial, the mechanical, about the preacher, as if he were accustomed to deal with things that are a little foreign to him, because they came from without and not from within. It suggests the clerical habit of mind, the habit of one whose calling is a profession. Hence a defective personality, a lack of what is distinctive and individual. There is always a certain suggestion of smallness about the typical clerical habit of mind. Things of small import, things that do not concern the larger interests of men, that do not touch the weightier matters of life, are exploited in the most extraordinary, painstaking manner. One is constrained to believe that the catholicity, of which we hear so much from the Anglican church, is largely external

and formal. It lacks breadth of humanity. It sometimes suggests in the preacher a defective sense of reality. The basis of all this is the dominance of tradition. It is the ecclesiastical, the institutional principle, and this is the basis of the dogmatic principle that has taken strong hold of a large section of the Anglican church. It is the principle that commits the preacher to various forms of external authority. It results in a lack of the experimental quality in preaching. Of course the preacher does not fail wholly to appropriate personally what he holds for truth. Of course he is not necessarily insincere in what he says. Indeed he often takes the matter in hand mightily to heart, despite its triviality, and makes it a matter of most solemn conscientiousness. But the preacher who is a traditionalist, who appropriates and works in the dogmatic principle, never completely domesticates the truth in his own inner life. He may work up a great amount of feeling about it, may be very solemn and polemically strenuous in his proclamation of it, and may take his conscience into very close alliance with it; he is doing something that he ought to do, he is under the constraint of obligation to the church to do it, even though there may be but little constraint of heart in it. But such a man may never have domesticated the truth in his intelligence or given it such a home in his personal feeling and conviction as intelligence would have secured for it. A good deal of the preaching which in time past has been heard in the Anglican church suggests that what the preacher says has never taken thorough hold of his mind. Indeed the preacher may even find a sort of virtue in denying the necessity that the truth should dominate the mind. The truth must be received by faith, must it not? faith, that is, in some sort of external authority, not faith in one's own mental, moral, and spiritual experiences, in one's intuitions, instincts, impulses, and rational processes. One may be very rigorous in the advocacy of

what is in fact not more than half real to him. It is a matter of loyalty to tradition, to church, to Bible, to truth which rests for support on some sort of external authority. The feelings may easily become enlisted in the advocacy of such authority, and the conscience may sanctify it. This was the earnestness of John Henry Newman.[1] It was doubtless genuine. But it was dogmatic earnestness. He did not claim to utter what had become a matter of intellectual experience. He even denied the necessity, or even in some cases the possibility, that it should become a matter of such experience. He was at liberty to sacrifice his intellect in the interests of a dogmatic faith. Of course we may not successfully deny all value to external authority. But such authority, without adequate subjective verification, may lead the finer spirits of the pulpit into fanaticism and the coarser spirits into conventionalism and unreality. The question for the experimentalist in religion is, What can be defended and vindicated within the realm of the inner life? What is it that finds response in my entire inner manhood? Let me have that truth and it shall become my message. It is the theology of experience, the theology of the message, with which such a man deals. A man may hold more truth than enters into his message, but he will hold it in reserve. It is not that the average Anglican preacher seems to hold in reserve more truth than he preaches. He seems to preach more than he really holds, more than he holds as a living reality within him. He has on hand a stock of truths passed on to him by tradition which he thinks it important to proclaim, not because it is an inner necessity, as being his message, but because it is a matter of trust, because the church has given it to him and told him to teach it. He teaches as the Scribes and not as one who finds authority in his own inner world of experience. All truth that is given by external authority must remain measurably external to the preacher until it is

[1] "Representative Modern Preachers," Ch. VI.

comprehensively vindicated in his own inner life. One feels the lack, in a good deal of the preaching of the Anglican church, of such passionate earnestness of conviction and of consecration, such high sense of personal vocation, such compulsion of inner constraint, as one finds in Robertson. There may be an unworldly note in much of this ecclesiastical preaching, but it is likely to be ascetic and external. It lacks the note of human brotherliness. The preacher may be a good convivial fellow on occasion, and may put on an austere unworldliness as he puts on his clerical robes. Robertson was scandalized that clergymen in his day could be self-indulgent and luxurious in their ordinary living and practise occasional asceticism and deal out pious sentiments from the pulpit and continue to cherish malignity and uncharitableness of spirit. It was a conventional unworldliness and a piety that had degenerated into cant. The morale of the Anglican clergy is doubtless much better than it was in his day. But there still lingers a certain slavish sense of church authority. There is a false idea of what the church may legitimately demand of its preachers which is freely criticised by its more modern representatives.[1] There is a consequent lack of intellectual independence, and of that individuality and that spontaneity which are conditioned by such independence. There is a lack of what is common and human. The preacher, who is afraid to assert his own personal intellectual rights, or who has no sense of his right to interpret the theology of tradition in the light of his own day, will be conventional. His preaching will lack the timely note. Only the truth that comes out of the experience of the preacher and appeals to the experience of the hearer will carry the note of reality. This only will edify, for it only finds touching points with real needs.

iii. There is still further involved in much of the preach-

[1] See Archdeacon Wilson's "Pastoral Theology," *passim*.

ing of the Anglican church an inadequate or defective teaching basis. It is not merely that its thought quantity is meagre and its thought quality lacking in breadth and strength. The truth that is presented is, to a large extent, somehow ill adapted to the practical needs of men, and thus is relatively unfruitful. In so far as the theology presented is the theology of tradition, the theology of church authority, inadequately interpreted in the light of modern life, it is difficult to see how the preacher can immediately avail himself of it in the most fruitful work of the pulpit or of the parish. The traditional Anglican theology is not an effective working theology. Archdeacon Wilson, in his "Pastoral Theology,"[1] a work that discloses the spirit of the broad churchman, ventures the assertion that "the popular English theology of to-day is degenerate." It is the theology of a people, he does not hesitate to say, that have practically ruled God out of human life. He is a God that has become easily "negligible" because He is treated as one who is indifferent to human sin and misery, and who tolerates a like indifference in men. This no-theology is the theology of the nation, and its utter weakness, he maintains, is the cause of the "absence of any high ideals of national life." This theology, he moreover asserts, is practically the theology of a large section of the church. This is certainly a very sweeping assertion and perhaps requires considerable limitation, if not correction. It cannot be true of the theology of a large section of the nonconforming community. But in this arraignment of the church Dr. Wilson evidently has in mind the Anglican communion, which, as the state church, undertakes to represent the theology of the nation. He doubtless knows whereof he affirms and one may not venture to challenge the truth of his charge. It is not, he would say, that a true theology, a theology that can be

[1] "Pastoral Theology," Cambridge University Lectures of 1903, Lecture II.

effectively preached, may not be found in the standards of the church. It is rather that it is not adequately or correctly interpreted in the light of modern life and applied to the practical everyday needs of men. He calls, therefore, for a theology that shall interpret God more worthily, that shall penetrate human life, and elevate the church and nation, a theology that shall reach not only individual men, but masses of men in sin and misery. It is perfectly evident that in so far as Anglican theology is a relic of traditional English deism, it must handicap the Anglican pulpit. The preaching that is based upon it will lack vitality, will lack the note of humanity, will lack the inspiration of a great message. The modern world is pressing hard upon the church, but the church lingers behind in the realm of tradition. It is not merely that Anglican preaching is prevailingly dogmatic in substance or form. It lacks the strength of the dogmatic preaching of a former period. It is to a large extent Biblical. But its Biblical quality is archaic. The Biblical scholarship of the church has made great advance. The names of eminent Biblical scholars in all branches of the church will occur at once. This work of Biblical scholarship stands ready for use. But the average preacher has not in his handling of the Bible kept pace with the new scholarship. Many of the ablest preachers of the church have failed to do it. Robertson's success as a Biblical preacher suggests the need of our day. Biblical scholarship does not reach the pulpit as it should. This is doubtless true with respect to all the English churches, true indeed with respect to all the churches of Christendom, except those that have entered most deeply into the spirit and needs of modern life. But this defect is more pronounced in the established than in the free churches. The archaic note lingers strangely about the Anglican sermon. The ritualistic preacher, especially, discloses what has been called the "typological concupiscence" in a most astonishing man-

ner. And from low as well as high churchmen one will hear allegorizing and typologizing of so grotesque a character that it is impossible that they should command the intellectual respect of any intelligent modern man. There is in such preaching a lack of freshness and variety in subject-matter. The archæological, as distinguished from the modern, practical, applicatory aspects of the subjects discussed are kept in the foreground. The preacher does not furnish adequate contributions from his own resources. He fails to bring the truth into close connection with the observations and experiences of everyday life, and its fundamental principles are not adequately interpreted in the light of the modern world. But little seems to be expected of the ordinary pastoral preacher, or the expectation, if it exists, does not find itself met, and only the man of exceptional enterprise, or of exceptional homiletic gifts, or of exceptional moral earnestness, will spend time in the preparation of discourses that will command the intellectual respect or the moral enthusiasm of men. By reason of this devotion to dogmatic tradition we find defective pulpit power especially in the exaggerated or stagnant types of high and low Anglicanism. But in corresponding types of broad Anglicanism we find too often an abandonment by the preacher of those high and worthy ideas of a supernatural religion that are necessary to give cogency to his message.

iv. Defective estimate of the preacher's task, unreasoning devotion to tradition, and failure of an effective working theology will naturally result in defective aim. Preaching thus conditioned will be institutional in aim as in spirit. If it does not make the interests of the institution an end, it will unduly exalt it as means. The ritualistic preacher aims at the production of a churchly mind. The church is fully equipped with the means of grace, is it not? Where in adequate measure shall we find them if not here? It is supremely important, there-

fore, to keep men under church influences. Only the churchly mind can be the fully Christian mind. The Oxford movement in the interest of the external authority of the church has been greatly tributary to the cultivation of the ecclesiastical mind, and especially of the dogmatic mind, and after a certain sort of the dogmatic interest in preaching. High Anglicanism lacks the broad evangelistic spirit and aim. It lacks also a comprehensive ethical aim. It has failed to grapple broadly and in the use of modern instruments with the evils that abound in modern English life. It has kept itself too remotely aloof from the great, real, human world about it. It has not appreciated the intellectual difficulties of educated men. It has even found it difficult to comprehend them. It has not shown sufficient sympathy with the modern spirit and with modern methods. It has dealt largely with the individual, and its social conscience, it is charged, has been inadequately developed. There is a lack, it is claimed, of patriotic aspiration to support those moral ideals that honor the nation. The sharp distinction between the secular and the sacred counterworks the loftiest social and political aspirations. In churchly ways a great amount of work is doubtless done in the interest of the unblessed classes, but that does not mean that the import and scope of social problems are adequately apprehended. It is charged that, unlike the ministers of the United States, the Anglican clergy have in general not been leaders in great questions of reform. Nor have the bishops, with all their learning and executive ability, been pioneers in the intellectual and social progress of the age.

In the evangelical communion there has been a lack of catholicity of spirit and comprehensiveness of aim. Robertson's charge that its preaching bore the marks of pietistic narrowness and of moral unreality is doubtless less applicable to the present day, for during the last fifty years the influences of modern life have been effectively

at work upon it, and many who are in spirit broad churchmen are numbered with the evangelicals. But evangelicalism, in so far as it holds to its narrow theology and its one-sided emotional experiences of religion, still fails in the production of the broadest and most intelligent type of moral and religious manhood.

The broad church, with its humanistic aims and motives, has not failed in social conscience. It has grappled with the hard problems of English industrial and social life. But it too has its left wing, which has become naturalistic and unfruitful, exalting the ethical as against the religious ideal, and cutting free from the central source of all highest moral inspirations. Failing thus in a worthy teaching basis, it fails in worthy aim.

v. For the typical Anglican preacher the artistic interest that seeks perfection of homiletic or rhetorical form is manifestly a matter of but slight importance. Why should the preacher, whose culture fails to exalt the very highest conception of his work, who does not grapple valiantly with a great and vital message, who is slow to choose themes of pertinent, practical import, who has an inadequately definite or comprehensive aim — why should he care greatly for logical, rhetorical, or perhaps literary form? The discourse that does not aim consciously at strong impression is pretty sure not to take the form of a rhetorical or oratorical address. It falls naturally into the style of the essay or homily, and this in time past has been the prevailing type of the Anglican homiletic product. Such a product will lack the grip and force that characterize the well-ordered address. The homily cannot meet the needs of the modern world. We need Biblical preaching, it is true, of the expository type. A better knowledge of the Bible calls for it. But Robertson showed himself a true orator as well as preacher in organizing his expository material in sermon form. Dr. Joseph Parker, it is true, succeeded with the Biblical homily. Other modern

preachers have been measurably successful with it, and some of the most acceptable modern preachers do good pulpit work with the essay. But success here is due largely to the rhetorical or literary genius of the preacher. If the preacher seeks a succession of remotely related, but vivid impressions of a kaleidoscopic sort, he will succeed with the homily or essay in securing interest if he have the requisite nimbleness of imagination, and the mastery of a cogent type of speech. But if he will seek cumulative mental and moral impression and will edify the hearer in religious knowledge, he will organize his material in sermon form. A lack of orderly sequence of thought is characteristic of much Anglican preaching. The discourse, as already noted, is generally written and read, but the hearer fails to carry away a connected view of the subject discussed. One recognizes also a corresponding lack of straightforward directness as of one who is bent upon bringing something to pass. There is too much generalization, and a corresponding lack of "searching" quality. A conventional tone, a stereotyped form, and a prosaic diction are the marks of many an Anglican sermon one will hear even in our day. It is said that the church is "suffering from the prevailing use of 17th century English in religious teaching."[1] If it were the crisp and energetic English of Robert South which the preacher affects, he might do worse. But the import of the charge is that the diction of the pulpit is conventional and professional. It is remote from the common life of our day, as if the preacher were burdened with an awful sense of clerical propriety and as if the "language of the clergy, like their dress, ought to be different from that of other people." In rhetorical effectiveness, as well as in logical consistency and coherency, the preaching of the English free churches is doubtless in advance of that of the established church.

[1] Wilson's "Pastoral Theology," 60.

II.

In the foregoing analysis I have had in mind only traditional tendencies. But material modifications in the pulpit product are manifest in all branches of the church, and what has been said will have to be subjected to much limitation. There are found preachers in all schools who know how to combine all the elements, intellectual, ethical, spiritual, and artistic of a genuine comprehensive homiletic product. And even where there is a lack of homiletic comprehensiveness and completeness there are often salient, individual qualities in the Anglican preaching of our day that render it more effective than that which was prevalent at the beginning of the last century. Let us, therefore, look more specifically at the different schools of Anglican preaching, especially as illustrated by individual preachers.

i. The Oxford revival, with its coöperative influences, has resulted in a modification and betterment of the preaching of high Anglicanism, even in its most extravagant ritualistic form. Its worship, with all its excesses, has been enriched, and its representative clergy are men of larger gifts and better culture. Whatever may be thought about its reactionary teachings, and its contribution to the dogmatic method and to the ecclesiastical spirit already referred to, the religious tone of its preaching is more elevated, more devout, more earnest, sympathetic, real, and practical, and in the hands of its best preachers often reaches a great height of religious eloquence. Churchly in tone, indeed, it never wholly ceases to be, but it discloses an aspiration to reach a higher degree of popular effectiveness as well as of edifying instructiveness. Some of the most popular preachers of the church, in the best sense of the word, are found in this school. In its emotionally rhetorical efforts to reach men it becomes sometimes even strikingly sensational. Dr. Body, Canon of Durham,

a most acceptable mission preacher, illustrates this popular style of preaching. Its preaching has also reached a higher grade of intellectual life. It has taken hold of theological problems, and to some extent it has interested itself in the critical questions of the day. The theological literature that had its primal inspiration in the Oxford movement is very copious. The themes discussed and the method of discussion may often seem archaic. It may deal with subjects which the modern man regards as of but relatively little importance. But some of the most competent scholars of the church are found here. Lightfoot was regarded as the most accomplished Biblical scholar of the church in his day. His critical conclusions as to the historic episcopate and some other vexed ecclesiastical and theological questions doubtless took him out of full relation with the extremists of his party, but he was to the end a high churchman. All the intellectual agitations of the age which have been conditioned by modern scientific, philosophic, economic, critical, and literary movements have secured for the preaching of this school, as represented by a few prominent men, a great enrichment of fibre, and in literary quality it reaches a higher mark. The literary influence of Newman, and scarcely less the influence of his religious intensity, seem to linger here, and some of the most cultivated and effective preachers of the church are found in this school. Ecclesiastical and missionary activity has been greatly stimulated, and there has followed a great enlargement of high-church influence. High-church bishops have acquired great popularity and prestige. Candidates for orders have pressed into their jurisdiction and sought service under them. Robertson turned from all others and sought service under the high Anglican bishop of Oxford. In missionary enthusiasm the evangelicals, who have long been noted for their philanthropic zeal, find in this school their rivals. Few modern missionaries are comparable in zeal and devotion with some of those

connected with this body. Bishop Heber was a high churchman, and so were Pattison and Selwyn, well-nigh incomparable heroes of the Christian faith, at whose consecrated moral and spiritual power the entire modern church must marvel. The leaders of this school, especially, have many of them been led into extensive efforts on behalf of the unchurched and unblessed. Bishop Lightfoot was a friend and supporter of the Salvation Army. He was actively interested in temperance reform, advocating and practising total abstinence. He was the founder of the "White Cross Society," one of the numerous voluntary associations under the direction of the church devoted to the work of Christian philanthropy. The spirit of high Anglicanism is gradually adapting itself, measurably at least, but as of necessity, to the demands of modern thought as well as modern life. The Tractarian movement, as Canon Holland of St. Paul's suggests, has begun "to work out new grooves and receives fresh tributaries." In line with this progressive movement the preaching of high Anglicanism, in its best estate, has become more experimental, more reflective, entering more deeply into the inner life, dealing more fully and more effectively with the practical working relations of Christ, not only with the individual soul, but with the associate lives of men, is less objective, less ecclesiastical, less dogmatic, not only in tone but in substance, as dealing more broadly with the common Christian truth and less distinctively with the specific tenets of the church and the school.

Let us now turn our attention briefly to a few of the chief representative preachers of this school, who disclose some more fully than others, but all in a measure, touching points with the modern world.

By reason of his close connection with the Oxford movement, his high character, comprehensive genius, wide-reaching influence, and popular power as a pulpit and platform orator, it is natural that first of all Wilber-

force, Bishop of Oxford and of Winchester, son of the great English philanthropist, should claim our attention. After Newman, he may perhaps be called the earliest representative of the more effective modern type of high Anglican preaching. In the variety of his gifts and aptitudes — administrative, social, political, philanthropic, literary, and oratorical — he was so superior to the Anglican officials of his day that he has been called the greatest bishop of the church of England during the last two hundred years. Nurtured in the evangelical school, as have been so many distinguished churchmen, who subsequently abandoned it, in some of his opinions always affiliated with it, he became by conviction a high churchman and leader of his party. He was consecrated as bishop of Oxford about the time Newman left the church, and as preacher at St. Mary's he was almost Newman's equal in popularity. In his handling of church affairs he was moderate and well balanced, taking no extreme positions on theological or ecclesiastical questions, practically tolerant alike of ritualism on the one side and of liberalism, political and ecclesiastical, on the other, with neither of which he had personal sympathy. It was through him, as already intimated, that Robertson, who had known him at Winchester, went to St. Ebbs, Oxford, and by his advice that he subsequently went to Brighton. The two men understood each other. When, in confidence, Robertson told the bishop of his change of theological views, he was simply commended for the skill with which he set them forth and the offer of St. Ebbs was renewed.

Wilberforce was best known, perhaps, for his extraordinary administrative ability. He shared his father's philanthropic spirit as well as his skill and effectiveness in accomplishing results. In enlarging and enriching educational work for his clergy and in promoting missionary and philanthropic effort, his bishopric was in the highest degree successful. And to all these efforts his

power as a public speaker was directly tributary. For he was a man of literary and of rhetorical and oratorical, as well as of administrative, gifts, and might have made a name for himself in literature and achieved larger success as an orator. The two large volumes of essays, originally contributions to the *Quarterly Review*, are characterized by thoroughness of treatment and by dignity and clearness of style. But some of the products of his earlier leisure have a touch of literary refinement and delicacy that bespeak a genius for the higher phases of literature. His father made careful provision for his training as a public speaker. He was an Oriel man and breathed the literary atmosphere for which it was noted, and as a member of the Oxford Union, where Robertson and Ruskin met, he found a sphere for training in debate. This culture he carried into the House of Lords, where he was preëminent in all high discussion, always commanding respectful attention, and sometimes carrying important measures by his skilful and forceful presentation. He carried the forensic habit into the pulpit. His influence as a preacher was indeed ephemeral, for although he spoke most effectively, he produced but transitory effects. There is but little left that illustrates his pulpit power. He turned his strength in other directions. He was an extemporaneous preacher. He advised his clergy, however, to write at least one sermon a week for many years and advocated preparation only when full and hot with the subject, warning against all dulness and monotony, to which latter advice he was himself personally faithful. With the facility of an extemporaneous preacher he adjusted his discourses to the immediate needs of his audiences, and was equally at home in addressing the House of Lords, a university audience, a clerical convocation, or a congregation of the poor and uninstructed. To the latter class especially he could speak with telling effect. His thought, in the higher class of discourses, was sub-

stantial, after the best rather than the average Anglican fashion, his development orderly and well balanced, his utterance strongly emotional, his diction elevated, felicitous, and forceful in ethical intensity, and he is said to have had the external appointments of a first-class English orator. Through him Newman's high standard of effective preaching was perpetuated, although in very different form.

St. Paul's Cathedral in London has been closely affiliated with high Anglicanism, and its prominent officials during the last forty or fifty years have been among the most cultivated and interesting preachers in the English church. Under their leadership the cathedral has been renewed, its services multiplied, its worship enriched, and it has become a centre for London of intellectual, religious, and philanthropic activity.

Dean Goulburn, of Norwich, was, as a preacher, a representative in an eminent degree of the devoutly religious aspect of modern high Anglicanism. He was, at one time, head master at Rugby, following Dr. Tait, who was Arnold's immediate successor, and he was subsequently connected with St. Paul's. He was preëminently a pastoral preacher, and a successful guide of souls in the perplexities of the religious life. His preaching was eminently of a devotional character and his discourses in the interest of a devotional life are of permanent value. He was highly realistic in many of his theological conceptions, especially in his belief in the existence of evil spirits and in their malign influence upon the intellectual activities of men, and as a high-church conservative was out of all sympathy with many of the views of the liberal school, as represented for example by Archdeacon Farrar, whose eschatological teachings he antagonized. But he was withal a thoughtful, suggestive, and eminently practical preacher. Two volumes, originally sermons, possibly of the Rugby period, "Thoughts on Personal Religion" and "The Pursuit of Holiness," are among the very best

specimens of modern devotional literature and are of present-day value in the pastoral guidance of souls. He had the flowing grace of diction that is characteristic of the literary style of so many of the cultivated high Anglican preachers, and is said to have had a most musical voice and a very deliberate, dignified, and impressive manner, without any stiffness or conventionality.

Bishop Lightfoot of Durham, the scholar of high Anglicanism, was also attached to St. Paul's, his appointment following that of Canon Liddon, by Mr. Gladstone in 1870. Although known most widely as a scholar, he was an interesting and eminently helpful preacher. His "Cambridge Sermons," delivered at Trinity College Chapel and before the university, convey a distinct impression of his gifts as a preacher. They bear no trace of high-church theology, such as we find not infrequently in Canon Liddon's discourses. In fact we seem to catch the note of the broader modern theology in his conceptions, for example, of the sacrificial work of Christ. In it he finds a disclosure of man's sin, the revelation of God's love, the seal of his ownership, and the highest motive of our obedience.[1] The sermon that deals with the story of Esau furnishes an interesting type of the biographical discourse. It may be compared with the sermon by Professor George Adam Smith on the same subject. The latter is in its moral impressiveness, on the whole, of a higher order, but in the former there are individual suggestions and aspects of the subject that are of great value and are in nowise surpassed by the latter.

The discourse that deals with the Conqueror from Edom (Is. lxiii. 1) and has for its subject "The Heroism of Loneliness" is also one of strong impressiveness. It lacks the felicity of suggestion and the rhetorical brilliancy of Bishop Brooks' sermon from the same text, but in moral strength and value it is in no sort inferior. He has severe

[1] "Cambridge Sermons," Vol. IV, "Bought with a Price," 291.

words for those theologians who, by their technical terms obscure the great, simple, luminous truths and facts of redemptive religion. His theology is practical and preachable, and the ethical aim of his preaching is always apparent. Like Canon Mozley, he is a suggestive preacher, because he so frequently directs our attention to what is striking in the paradoxes and seeming contradictions of religion. The discourses are short, the introductions disproportionately long, and disclose his exegetical habit. They follow the essay method, so common with Anglican preachers, but, although without salient points of demarcation, they have a progressive movement, which is altogether free and unconventional. His style is direct and unexpectedly energetic. The short sentence is characteristic, the rhetorical interrogative abounds, and the interrupted sentence is tributary to the momentum of his thought and force of his diction.

During the last generation three men have been especially prominent at St. Paul's. Dean Church is one of them, and to him probably more than to any other man is due the effectiveness with which the moral and religious forces of the cathedral have been organized. The "Life and Letters," by his daughter, in which is incorporated a character sketch by Canon Scott Holland, discloses a profoundly interesting man, with whom, if time permitted, it would be profitable to linger. In his spirit of reverence, his gravity and austerity, his moral sobriety, his profoundly serious view of life, comparable in all this with Newman, Mozley,[1] and Liddon, in which respect also he reminds us of Robertson, he was a typical high churchman. A personal friend of Newman's and measurably his follower, he seemed of sufficient significance to become his successor in leadership of what was left of the Oxford movement after Newman left the church.

[1] For the writer's analysis of Mozley's preaching, see "Representative Modern Preachers," Ch. VII.

But he had not the full equipment for such leadership. Like Mozley, he was too independent, and too shy and retiring, and he was much more human than most high churchmen. He was a first-rate classical scholar, a student of Dante, whose solemn spirit seemed to have breathed itself into his life, a competent authority in the interpretation of the great poet, being familiar with the Italian language from early years. He was a historical student, familiar especially with the mediæval period, and wrote a life of Anselm. He was a student of the natural sciences, a competent botanist, a correspondent of Professor Gray of Harvard College, and was among the first churchmen to recognize the significance and value of Darwin's "Origin of Species." It was academic freedom and catholicity that gave him touching points with modern thought and life, and this, with his balance of judgment, his equity, his firmness, his simplicity and genuineness, and his humor, despite his shrinking reserve, fitted him eminently for such leadership as was necessary for the work in hand at St. Paul's. Few men, it is said, have had his gift for inspiring confidence in those whom he undertook to lead. He held the unreserved allegiance of all his colleagues, and was the real centre of official life at St. Paul's. Dean Holland evidently finds the secret of this skilful but limited leadership in part in his balance of judgment, his practical wisdom, his tolerance and catholicity of spirit, and his large outlook into the future. "He was found," says Dean Holland,[1] "at each crisis, ready to verify the connection between the struggle for a larger doctrine and the struggle for a richer ritual. Not only that, but when this stage of the conflict, too, was passing, and the position had been secured, and lawful liberty was greater, and, in consequence the older movement was turned to other tasks, and took fresh interests, and began to be busy with the problems of contemporary thought, and with the new anxieties of

[1] "Life and Letters of Dean Church," 271, 272.

Biblical criticism, he still would not hold himself back from those who had moved on to the new ground; but justified the necessity for the advance, perilous though it seemed to him; and not only corrected and guarded, but also appreciated and encouraged the effort that was being made to assimilate the fresh material of knowledge."

The writings of Dean Church are numerous. Among the most interesting and valuable are perhaps his work on Dante and his work on the Oxford movement. As a preacher he had nothing of the popularity of Canon Liddon, his associate at the cathedral. But his words were always weighty, and he commanded the interest and respect of the large audiences that never failed him whenever he preached. His "Village Sermons," preached at Whately, where he spent nineteen happy and successful years, whose influence upon him is made apparent in a letter to Professor Gray,[1] just before he left reluctantly to assume his new duties at St. Paul's, doubtless more fully than all others disclose the personally attractive qualities of the man. The "Cathedral and University Sermons" are more elaborate and weighty. Like Canon Liddon's, they are rather long and are carefully wrought out with from two to four main topics definitely marked in the printed form, but, as was often the case with Liddon's sermons, not so carefully marked in the process of delivery by notes of transition. He was a writer of simple, chaste, clear, dignified English, without any literary mannerisms that arrest attention. In physical personality he was slight and without the external appointments of a pulpit orator, while his voice was defective in carrying power. In pulpit manner he was modest and unaggressive, and the power of his preaching was due to the weight of his thought, the elevation of his character, and the excellence of his literary culture.

As Dean Goulburn represents the religious aspects

[1] "Life and Letters," 244.

of high Anglicanism, and Bishop Lightfoot its scholarship, so Dean Church represents its effort to adjust itself to the necessities of modern life. His sermons as select preacher at St. Mary's, Oxford, 1866–1868, which deal in various ways with Christianity in its relation to modern civilization, reveal the breadth and sanity of his mind. His effort to secure a high estimate of the value of secular society as designed to further the ends of our earthly existence is in somewhat striking contrast with the efforts of the leaders of the Oxford movement in undervaluing it, and one suspects a purpose on the part of the preacher to counterwork this tendency of high churchmanship.

To Canon Liddon also, who, as its greatest preacher, was connected with the cathedral for twenty years, there must be only a cursory and inadequate reference. He too was a typical high churchman, serious in his views of life, austere in his type of piety, ascetic in aspect as a monk, a perpetuation of Newman in his moral earnestness and dogmatic intensity. The title of his first volume of sermons, "Some Words for God," suggests the prophetic quality of the man and the character of his preaching. He was a diligent student of modern thought and modern life, which seemed to have for him a kind of fascination. But it was the fascination of objects for which he had an intense antagonism. He had a profound distrust of all forms of liberalism. He was a stout believer in the dogmatic principle, was aggressive and polemical, and turned all his learning, which, after its kind, was liberal, all his moral intensity, which was immense, and all his eloquence, which surpassed that of any other man of his day in his own school, against what he regarded, and in a measure with good reason, as the errors and delusions of the modern world. In substance his preaching was apologetic, and his training, as well as his intellectual tendencies, eminently fitted him for this type of preaching. He gloried in his catholic Anglicanism, and much of his

preaching finds its material, if not its formal centre, in the realm of high-church dogma. In all this he shows the skill of the dialectician as well as of the rhetorician. But in the aim of his preaching and in its tone he is dominantly ethical, and bears witness that with him doctrine is of supreme moral significance. There is a certain contagion in his moral earnestness which is, in large measure, the secret of his influence over men. He has been called a great orator. But he was preacher rather than orator. He always attracted and held large audiences, and the influence of St. Paul's during his day was largely due to his power over the cultivated as well as over the general public. He was for many years not only a student of oratory but of the best preaching of the chief modern nations, — German, French, Italian, English, and American, — and it is said that the best French and Italian models influenced his own preaching. Like most of the preachers of his school, he was topical in his method, even in his use of the textual development and in his expository preaching, as illustrated by his Easter, Advent, and Christmas discourses. His discussion is orderly and cumulative, rarely failing of the oratorical climax. His style is characterized by intellectual clearness and force, and by a vigorous nervous intensity which produced strong rhetorical effects. It was incisive and impressive in high degree, reaching sometimes the heights of ecstasy and ending in prayer. His sermons were generally an hour in length, but they held his audiences with such unabated interest that they seemed reluctant to have him close. The service began and continued under high pressure, after the impassioned manner of Bishop Brooks. But this rapidity, resulting in indistinctness of articulation in the use of a voice that was in itself rich and flexible, and the short-sightedness which held him chained close to his manuscript, which, however, he gradually learned to use with freedom, did not seem seriously to perplex the

crowds that pressed to the cathedral to hear him, nor to diminish materially the effectiveness of his preaching.

Canon Holland, who for six years was actively associated with Church and Liddon, is perhaps the most "telling and eloquent" preacher connected with St. Paul's since Liddon's death. In him, too, we trace very distinctly the spirit of the Oxford movement, "the spirit of the Christian soldier warring for the right," as he conceives it, the spirit of "an older past," which is to him "as an heroic epic." In him we see the inspiration of Newman, whose personality exercised "that intimate fascination which was so peculiarly his own," and the strong leadership of Church, whose "memory is so fragrant, and his name so full of good cheer." But coming later into active life he discloses also the influence of the modern world. In 1882, twelve years after his graduation at Oxford, and while yet tutor of Christ Church, he published the volume entitled "Logic and Life." The first sermon gives it its title, and suggests the living connection between logic and life, *i.e.* between reason and impulse, thought and character, intellectual experience and all other elements of experience. In the changes of modern life men's conception of reason itself has changed. It is not "an engine with which every man starts equipped, capable of doing a certain job, whenever required, with a definite and certain mode of action, but it is taken as a living and pliable process, by and in which man brings himself into rational and intelligent relation with his surroundings, with his experience." "It is on our inner and actual life that the action of our reason depends." Reason tells us nothing trustworthy of itself. The worth of what it tells us depends on the stock of the total experience with which it deals. In a word, reason has for its subject-matter the sum total of our experiences, and it becomes the living organ of such experiences. In the sermon entitled, "The Venture of Reason," he would show that as there is a rational

element involved in all our human impulses, that, as from within, it regulates and controls them and not from without and in entire independence of them, so there is a certain element of impulse in reason itself, and this inner impulse of reason is what may be called faith. Faith and reason, therefore, are not generically different, and the venture of faith in which it commits itself to the facts that appeal to it is nothing other than the venture of reason. Faith, where properly exercised, can no more be irrational than reason, and cannot issue in unbelief. In all this, with modifications, we seem to find a trace of Newman. The entire volume is an advocacy of the organic connection between thought and life. The value of doctrine is in its practical relation to life and in what it does for life. In this, one seems to find a very decided modification of the high-church conception of loyalty to the dogmas of the church, which might, one suspects, lead to important issues in modifying the conception of the authority of dogma. This principle he applies in sermons XIV and XV to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. The doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the church, he seems to accept. He does not undertake, however, to make it real or to vindicate it, or give it meaning by speculative or dialectical processes, but rather by showing its influence upon our practical life in meeting our actual needs. In discussing the Incarnation he would show us that the humiliation of Christ in entering our humanity is only a disclosure of the condescension of God himself. In all this the dogmatic and ecclesiastical note seems, in the formal sense, at least, to disappear. We have here the effort of a high churchman to show the working value in practical life of the dogmas of the church to which he adheres. The later volume, "Creed and Character," is devoted to the same general interest. It discloses a greater maturity of thought and an even greater affluence of rhetorical expression. But equally with the earlier volume it justifies

the claim that might be made for him, of being the philosophical preacher of high Anglicanism. Mental assent throughout to the preacher's contention is impossible, but he surely succeeds in these vigorous discourses in vindicating the claim that there is a close and vital relation between Christian dogmatics and Christian ethics, or between the Christian moral life and those doctrinal conceptions of Christianity that lie back of it.

In their exuberance of diction and in the skill with which subtle metaphysical thoughts are represented in descriptive imagery, these sermons remind us, in a sort, of Schleiermacher's "Discourses." We find here the high churchman's love of paradox and a very suggestive and impressive manner of presenting it. Canon Holland is a topical preacher who uses his texts as mere headings, some of which have no manifest relation to the subjects discussed, which are not referred to in the discussion, and which find justification only in some occult and remotely related principle of association. The style is exceedingly graphic and in its rapidity of movement, its elegance, its intensity of exclamation, its apostrophe and interrogation, passing sometimes into the ecstasy of prayer, it reminds us strongly of Newman.

ii. Low Anglicanism in its modern form was, as we have already seen, powerfully quickened by, and may almost be said to have originated in, the Wesleyan revival of the eighteenth century. It has claimed to be by preëminence the evangelical branch of the church. By this is meant first of all that it is preëminently the supporter of the traditional doctrines of Protestantism, but more specifically that it rests upon those great central truths of redemptive religion that become matters of personal, subjective experience. It, therefore, lays chief accent upon the realities of the inner religious life, cherishing especially an emotional type of piety, and, as contrasted with high Anglicanism, attaches but relatively little

importance to the forms of religion. It does not, however, accept unconditionally the subjective principle as furnishing an adequate basis of religious authority or a sufficient test of the validity of what claims to be religious truth. The great outstanding truths and facts of Protestant Christianity have been given by an objective, authoritative revelation, and are fixed in Scriptures that have been given by an infallible inspiration. They are, therefore, to be accepted and tested, not wholly or primarily by personal experiment, but by the objective authority that gave them. The objective principle thus supplements the subjective. The dogmatic principle, which, in its fundamental conception, is allegiance to external authority, modifies the experimental principle. The typical evangelical, therefore, while at heart a pietist, cherishing with an inner sense of sacredness the truths that have entered into his religious experience, is also in creed a dogmatist and presses home the truth with a tone of assurance that rests upon an external basis of authority. It is possibly an unadjusted or ill-adjusted combination of the dogmatic and the pietistic spirit that in part accounts for some of the peculiarities of the evangelical type of Christian life. There is in it a certain emotional intensity and conscientious scrupulosity in some of its representatives, and, as has been charged, and justly, a certain narrowness, bigotry, and intolerance, not to say uncharitableness and censoriousness. It is also perhaps this ill adjustment that accounts for the ascetic form which evangelical piety assumes. For it is difficult to see how extreme forms of the legal principle can be successfully combined and worked with the evangelical principle. It was under this type of evangelical influence that Robertson lived during the early part of his ministry. It is this that accounts for the evangelical's austere views of human life. But no one can fail to see the immense power for good that has been exerted by this school. No branch of the church

has surpassed it in missionary zeal, or exceeded it in practical activity in the care of souls. It is also evident that under the influences of our day it is broadening and deepening and becoming more genuinely catholic in spirit, so that the line between the low and broad churchman is not so easily traced as once. But more specifically and to the point in hand, somehow the culture of evangelicalism has been promotive of great fervor, directness, and facility in the work of preaching. The preacher's pietistic spirit, his zeal for individual souls, his missionary and philanthropic enthusiasm, the like of which have been found in such large measure in the evangelical branch of the American Episcopal church, even the distinctive peculiarities of his evangelical theology perhaps, the accent laid upon personal sin and personal redemption, the realistic conceptions and representations of the saving significance of the suffering Christ, — all this may, in considerable measure, account for his power as a preacher. Exeter Hall has been a centre for evangelicalism, and its influence has made itself felt in all branches of the church. The number of effective preachers affiliated with this school has been and still is, large. Only a few of them can be mentioned. Bickersteth, Bishop of Ripon, and Henry Melville, who was at one time connected with St. Paul's, both graduates of Cambridge University, which has been closely allied with the evangelical and liberal schools, will be recalled and gratefully remembered by the students of Anglican preaching thirty or forty years ago as influentially impressive preachers of this school.

Ryle, Bishop of Liverpool, will also be remembered, not only as an ardent evangelical preacher, but as a prolific writer of religious tracts of characteristic evangelical spirit, contributor to religious periodicals, and an enthusiastic and courageous defender of evangelical principles as represented by Puritan and Wesleyan dissent. He was one of the best-known preachers at Exeter Hall in

courses of evangelistic sermons to the workingmen of London, and one of the most gifted in this type of preaching. Some of these sermons have been preserved, and they disclose the same general characteristics that one finds in the evangelistic preaching of the nonconforming churches of that period. He was a great admirer of Baxter and defended him vigorously against the criticisms of some of his Anglican brethren. In 1869 he published "The Christian Leaders of the Last Century, or England a Hundred Years Ago," in the preface to which he says: "I confess it, I am a thorough enthusiast about them." His preaching was prevailingly textual, a characteristic of his school, and it was earnest in tone, direct in method, and popular in style.

Archibald Boyd, Dean of Exeter, was one of the most accomplished of the evangelical preachers of his day. Robertson was his curate at Christ Church, Cheltenham, during his ministry of five years there. His influence as a preacher upon Robertson was, as we learn from various sources, very strong. He listened to his rector, it is said, "with a kind of admiring despair." But admiration for the rector's accomplishments, whose measure he was hopeless of reaching, stimulated him most vigorously in his own efforts, and it was one of the influences that led him to a standard of excellence that assured his ultimate extraordinary success as a preacher. Dean Boyd, if for no other reason than his once close relation with Robertson, could not fail to be an object of interest. But in addition to all this, although he has left but little that enables us to judge of his power as a preacher, he has left in Cheltenham and elsewhere the tradition of great accomplishments. In London and Exeter he commanded the interest of the most cultivated classes, and has been widely known as one of the most thoughtful, and, after a sort, most learned theologically of the religious teachers of his school.

Dean Boyd was evidently of Irish lineage, and although

one finds in his discourses nothing that suggests the brilliancy of the Irish rhetorician, one imagines that there may have been in the delivery of his discourses something of the impressiveness of the Irish orator. He had the impulse and the equipment of the theological controversialist, and he defended the truths of Christianity as he understood them with vigor, but with deliberateness and fairness withal. That he was not the theological antagonist of his early Cheltenham curate would indicate either the closeness of his friendly personal relations with Robertson, or that Robertson himself was at that time on substantially evangelical ground. A dozen or fifteen years after Robertson's death, however, he appears before the public as the antagonist of the subjective principle for which Robertson stood. He defends revelation, as against moral intuition or speculative reason, as furnishing in its miracles and in its prophecy the only adequate criterion of truth, a sort of teaching which Robertson denounced at Brighton as the "rankest rationalism."

Dr. Magee, Bishop of Peterborough, and subsequently Archbishop of York, was in his day the most brilliant and popular pulpit orator not only of the evangelical school, but of the entire Anglican church. Canon Liddon may have been the greater preacher in the comprehensive sense of the term, but the bishop was the greater pulpit orator, and Liddon himself regarded him as the greatest of living preachers. Like Wilberforce, he was equally at home in the pulpit, on the platform, or in parliament, at home in the briefer or in the longer address, and before a cultivated or an uninstructed audience. He was, in fact, estimated as second only to Gladstone or Bright among English orators. He was of Irish origin, and in his oratory he disclosed the wit, the pathos, the fire, the fertility, and the manly strength as well, that are characteristic of the best type of Celtic genius. The clearness and accuracy of his diction, as in the case of Wendell Phillips and of John

Bright, were the product of careful training in early years, but the diction had also the sparkle, the spontaneity, and the affluence of the strictly extemporaneous speaker. This is especially true of his speeches and of his free, offhand addresses. In his sermons one finds nothing that is particularly striking or fresh in thought. The order is always clear, the method of discussion somewhat elaborate, and the thought and the diction expanded after the manner of the extemporaneous speaker. They, therefore, leave no adequate impression of his brilliant oratorical qualities. His speeches, although always carefully wrought out, even to the striking peroration which is the delight of the Irish orator, were dependent for their effectiveness to a large extent upon the freedom and the momentary inspiration of the extemporaneous method. He was a vigorous opponent of the essay type of preaching so common in the Anglican church, knowing as by oratorical instinct that it is only the discourse that is thrown into the form of an address that can be oratorically effective. He gives us his conception of what preaching should be in two lectures delivered before the London Homiletical Society at St. Paul's, entitled "The Art of Preaching" and "Extemporaneous Preaching." With the habit of the orator and debater he insisted that the preacher should put his "points" definitely and thrust them forth saliently into recognition. He put supreme stress upon logical continuity and clear arrangement of thought. For Demosthenes' word "action" he would substitute the reiteration of the word "arrangement," as suggesting the supreme interest in effective preaching. The preacher must, first of all, master the minds of his hearers. To this end it is necessary that he master his subject and be able to throw it into fresh light. The sermon should have but one leading thought, which should rally everything about it as a centre, and all the topics should be but illustrative phases of this one idea. He gave two years, he tells us, to hard

study of the problem of so shaping the material as to realize the conditions of forceful address, knowing well that the public speaker who leaves that problem to take care of itself will come to grief. He would counsel preachers first of all to sketch the outlines of their sermons, and then read everything bearing on the subject in hand that they can get hold of. "If you want to succeed," he says, "never read sermons, but study arrangement and effect." [1]

Dr. Magee was a vigorous, although kindly and temperate, defender of the evangelical type of Christian faith, as against the innovations of modern unbelief, and was evidently more interested in theological than in ethical questions.

One queries whether he devoted his great influence and power as a public speaker to the cause of moral reform as he might have done.

In the Rev. Dr. William Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, we find a representative of the evangelical school who shares the liberal and progressive spirit of the broad churchman. Those who are familiar with the little volume entitled "The Witness of the Heart to Christ," Hulsean Lectures for 1878, preached by him before the University of Cambridge, will recognize here an unusually broad type of evangelicalism. His humanistic culture and his vigorous faith in the subjective principle as related to Christian apologetics give great weight and dignity to the genuine conservative spirit with which he would defend the claims of Christianity upon the allegiance of men. In "The Permanent Elements of Religion," Bampton Lectures for 1887, by which he has become most widely known beyond his own communion, we recognize still more fully the comprehensiveness of the liberal scholar and the catholicity of the progressive theologian, combined with that loyalty to the spirit and genius of Christianity which may be called characteristic of those who have appro-

[1] MacDonnell's "Life of Archbishop Magee," Vol. I, 31 ff.

priated what is best in the nurture of the evangelical school. His recognition of the principle of progress as one of the elements essential to the permanence of religion is a worthy manifestation of this combination of the liberal and evangelical spirit. In a very sane, suggestive, and interesting discourse preached at Oxford in 1884, entitled "The Age of Progress,"[1] he discloses the same harmonious blending of the conservative and progressive spirit. It is a vindication of the spirit of progress as essential to the true prophetic spirit. It is based upon 2 Kings, vi. 1–2, in which the sons of the prophets are represented as suggesting to Elisha the limitations of their present dwelling place, and as petitioning that they may go to the river Jordan and take, each man of them for himself, a stick of timber wherewith to build a new abiding place for their school. The progressive spirit by which a man is enabled to adjust himself and his teaching to his own age is just as essential to the true prophetic spirit as religious insight and moral force. Elisha possessed all of these elements. They are necessary to any religious leader who would exert the most salutary influence upon his age. Following somewhat closely and always interestingly and suggestively the imagery furnished by the text, the discourse is a vindication, of a wise and discriminating sort, of the progressive principle in religion and theology. We must get beyond the narrow limitations of our provincialism. We must work coöperatively, indeed, but each man and each school building like those sons of the prophets, must furnish material for a new and better theological structure. His statement of the principles contained in the movements of low, high, and broad Anglicanism, those "three great movements that have spread, as it were, a wealth of religious light over the past century," is altogether discriminating and felicitous and illustrates his intellectual comprehensiveness and religious catholicity. The low church-

[1] "The Anglican Pulpit of To-day," Sermon XV, 187.

man would lay stress upon the sacredness of the individual soul and life, and upon the necessity of immediate personal fellowship and communion with God. The high churchman would accentuate the sacredness of the corporate life of the church and the power therein of the living Lord Christ. The broad churchman would teach the sacredness of humanity and the ever abiding presence of God in the human race. The one would fix our attention upon the Holy Spirit as an indwelling presence in the Christian soul. The other would rally our faith in the Holy Catholic church as the living organ of Christ. The third would broaden our apprehension of and intensify our confidence in the presence of God in humanity as the Father of spirits. All these points of view, broadly, intelligently, spiritually apprehended and interpreted, are of importance in the progress of theology, religion, and church life.

Bishop Carpenter is said to be an extemporaneous preacher, and one can readily believe him to be a preacher of popular impressiveness and of wide-reaching influence. His work on homiletics reveals his knowledge of the technique of the subject. A volume of his discourses entitled "The Great Charter of Christ, Studies in the Sermon on the Mount," furnishes one of the best illustrations of effective expository preaching within the writer's knowledge. In its method it is quite unique, and illustrates anew the wide-ranging possibilities of expository preaching. The central thought of each passage is pitched upon, is felicitously suggested in the title of each discourse, and this central thought gathers the entire material of the discourse about itself, thus securing strict unity of thought. All relatively unimportant material is thus ruled out, and only what is of chief doctrinal or practical interest is brought to our attention. The textual basis for the different discourses exhibits much variety, but the basis is always appropriate and pertinent. The preface is in the form of an allegory, excellently well conceived and executed,

and is made to suggest the regnant principles of the Sermon on the Mount. The literary style of the discourses is in all ways appropriate to their quality and object.

iii. The broad church school has more numerous touching points with modern life than any other branch of the church, and its representatives are probably more widely known in other religious communions. It is a product of modern liberalism, and has been furthered especially by those philosophical, scientific, critical, and literary influences that came into prominence at the beginning of the last century, and to which reference has already been made. It has more fully appropriated the subjective principle in religion than any other school. It seeks what is human and universal in Christianity and finds its chief vindication in the response it meets in human nature. Its theology centres itself in the fatherly character, relation, and government of God. Its church is the church of idealized humanity, and its ethical spirit, which is one of its chief characteristics, reaches out widely into all realms of human life. It has produced no preacher that is comparable with Robertson, and it may be questioned whether, with all its intellectual enterprise, its literary culture, its catholicity of spirit, and its "enthusiasm of humanity," its pulpit is in spiritual impressiveness equal to that of high or low Anglicanism in its best estate. And yet it must be acknowledged that no body of Anglican teachers has been more widely influential.

Archbishop Whately, its earliest modern representative, was more of a logician, debater, teacher, and man of affairs than preacher, and has left nothing behind that is evidential of eminent pulpit power or of any adequate conception of the sources of popular effectiveness in preaching. His common sense and his ethical spirit are manifest in the criticism of some of the preachers of his day. But in his conception of public speech, his interest is prevailingly didactic rather than ethical. His work on rhetoric, which

was once used very extensively in colleges and preparatory schools, is of more value as a guide in reasoning and teaching than in the work of the advocate or the work of persuasion. But he was a man of effective leadership in the liberalism of his school, and influenced the mental life of prominent men in all schools.

Bishop Thirlwall, in all his impulses and sympathies as well as judgments a typical broad churchman, a man of high scholarship and extensive learning, and of a genuineness and manliness of character such as is not always found in those who are brought under the influences of official life in the Anglican bishopric, was in his day one of the weightiest preachers of his school, comparable with Robertson in dignity and strength of thought, but not in brilliancy and popular effectiveness. In intellectual thoroughness and in practical wisdom his discourses to his clergy remind us of the preachers of an earlier period.

Augustus William Hare, a man of rare culture and devout spirit, who with his younger brother, Julius Charles, is known as the author of "Guesses at Truth," which has been widely read and much admired for its subtle and suggestive thought and vigorous as well as elegant diction, was known as a model English country clergyman, and has left behind a volume of sermons preached to his rural congregation at Alton Barnes, entitled "Sermons to a Country Congregation," which for broad-mindedness, pastoral affectionateness, devout godliness, practical wisdom, and for simplicity and directness of style are of permanent interest.

Julius Charles Hare was, in his knowledge of German theology and literature, the most accomplished broad churchman of his day. His residence during his early years in Germany opened the door to an ultimate familiar acquaintance with the chief theologians of the mediating school in theology, and with the chief poets of the romantic school in literature. His friendship with Baron Bun-

sen, the Prussian ambassador to England, was still further tributary to this opening of a new world of thought. He was the friend and follower of Coleridge, and an interpreter of his spiritual philosophy, school-fellow of Grote and Thirlwall, becoming ultimately with the latter joint translator of Niebuhr's "History of Rome." He was an intimate friend of Dr. Arnold's, a clerical associate of John Sterling's, who was at one time his curate and who, with Trench in earlier years, was his pupil at Trinity College, Cambridge, and he was a brother-in-law of Maurice. He is known in a volume of discourses preached at Cambridge, of exceptional thoughtfulness and spiritual power, entitled "The Victory of Faith," but still more widely known perhaps by the volume of more elaborate discourses that bears as its title "The Mission of the Comforter," which has been a sort of religious classic to many men of a past generation. It is, however, of additional, and was once of almost unique interest, as illustrating in its appendix his extensive and accurate acquaintance with German theological scholarship and as containing a skilful defence of some of the teachings of his school.

Dr. Thomas Arnold, the manliest, most honest, and most serious of English Christian gentlemen, in his Rugby sermons manifests in a very interesting manner his solid sense, his pedagogic wisdom, his religious devoutness, his ethical directness, and his solicitude for the moral and religious welfare of his pupils, and they are in fact in many ways strongly tributary to his reputation as the great English educator.

Maurice, the theologian of broad Anglicanism, and its supremely beloved and admired intellectual leader, was too subtle and metaphysical in his tendencies for a preacher. He never wholly emancipated himself from a certain intellectual vagueness, or mystical or metaphysical indeterminateness, which was interesting to those only who were in intellectual sympathy with him, and were willing to

follow him in his mental meanderings. He took something of this, with a certain diffuseness or expansiveness of style, into the pulpit, and was therefore not an effective preacher. But his discourses on the Lord's Prayer, preached at Lincoln's Inn, are exceptionally clear in outline, definite and edifying in thought, practical in aim, and sufficiently simple and perspicuous in diction.

Charles Kingsley, the "Giant Great Heart" of his school, the most human and lovable of men, had but few of the gifts and appointments of a preacher. The pulpit was not the sphere for his genius. The humanity of the man and the manliness and sincerity of his literary style are notable qualities in his preaching, and there is but little else. In the volume entitled "The Good News of God" we discern the same large-heartedness, the same mental freedom and facility, and the same manly straightforwardness that we find in all his writings. The themes and the methods of discussion bear the marks of the broad churchman, but in weight of thought and in literary skill make no contribution whatever to homiletic literature.

Dean Stanley, in all of his discourses, reveals the broad humanity and the refined literary culture that characterize all his intellectual products. Lacking in many of the chief qualities of popular impressiveness and without the support of the personality of the preacher, they may be read with quite as much interest as they were heard. The "Westminster Sermons," preached on special occasions at Westminster Abbey, derive their chief interest from the attractiveness of their subject-matter, their clearness of outline and graceful diction, and from their disclosure of the preacher's wide-ranging human interests and his extensive historical knowledge. The "Addresses and Sermons" delivered at St. Andrews, Scotland, are more elaborate and theological in character, revealing as ever the preacher's intellectual and ecclesiastical catholicity, but lacking somewhat his usual delicacy of literary touch.

The "Sermons in the East," preached before the Prince of Wales in the spring of 1862, are notable as making still more clearly manifest his interest in and knowledge of sacred geography as well as history, and although very short, they are marked by clearness of outline and by skill and helpfulness in practical suggestion.

Bishop Fraser of Manchester was known in his day as a very active, aggressive advocate of practical Christianity. He was devoted to the interests of the common people, an earnest advocate especially of their education. He lived a modest, frugal life, mindful of the poor and beloved of them, and he led his clergy, by precept as well as by example, to a like devotion. As being a man of affairs he was not particularly distinguished as a preacher. His university sermons give evidence of this practical, aggressive character. They are frank, free, forthputting, straightforward, sensible utterances, dealing, like the discourses of Canon Liddon, but more sympathetically and less polemically, with living questions of the day. He was as liberal in politics as in theology, and perhaps more so, and was a lively advocate of whatever seemed to him to further the educational, social, political, and material interests of the people.

Bishop Temple of Exeter, subsequently of London, and ultimately Archbishop of Canterbury, was a thinker, scholar, and educator, and not especially distinguished as a preacher. "The Education of the World," an article in the once famous "Essays and Reviews," which brought him into prominence and with singular injustice subjected him to much adverse criticism, exhibits his leading intellectual tendencies and allies him, although somewhat remotely, save by association, with broad Anglicanism. He had a vigorous, steady grip upon any subject he touched. His Bampton Lectures for 1884 on the "Relation of Religion and Science," are of value for their clear insight into the basis upon which the claims of both reli-

gion and science rest, but, like most efforts in this line, throw but little light upon their working relations. He was of a cautious and reasonably conservative temperament, more liberal perhaps in spirit than in doctrine, and after his elevation to positions of high trust in the church, manifested something of the institutional moderation that characterizes the very prudent and highly respectable Anglican official. For eleven years he was Arnold's successor as head master at Rugby. Not unlike Arnold in his fundamental ethical qualities, he perpetuated something of his success as head master. Three series of his Rugby sermons have been published, which are notable chiefly for dignity, strength, and clearness of thought. He was accustomed to bring his assistant masters and student readers into participation in the conduct of the Sunday morning chapel service and at the afternoon service he preached. The ethical substance and aim of his discourses were prominent. A few months before his transfer to the bishopric of Exeter, he preached a series of sermons on the mysteries of religion, which one wishes might have found a place in the third series of the Rugby discourses. It was his aim to show that our moral and spiritual natures find a satisfactory way of interpreting most of these mysteries. In a discourse upon the "Divine Goodness," to which the writer listened about two months before his transfer from Rugby, he raised the question whether, apart from external revelation, it is possible to vindicate the goodness of God, but the substance and the conclusion of the contention were that what is best even in our unaided moral and religious natures is able to rise above all doubt and to justify it. The discourse was not so simple in thought and diction and so well adapted to his audience as one might have expected, but it was strongly put and it held attention. His voice was strong, and but for the cadence which is habitual with Anglican preachers of all schools, impressive. In the entire service there was the evidence of a most agree-

able, sincere, substantial, and manly man, and of a manhood not unworthy of his greater predecessor.

Archdeacon Farrar of Westminster was one of the most versatile and variously accomplished representatives of the broad church school in his day. His intellectual interests were wide ranging, and he made a respectable figure in the handling of altogether disparate subjects. His discussions of Biblical, historical, biographical, and educational themes are of interest and value in their fecundity, freshness, and range of thought and in their excellent common sense. Clear rather than profound, facile rather than inventive, he was always heard with interest and respect because he took himself and his subject and his audience seriously. His graphic "Life of Christ," one of the most successful of his publications, has won for him a wide circle of readers far beyond the borders of his own country. In his own communion he awakened criticism and some antagonism for what have been regarded as latitudinarian views of the atonement and of the destiny of men in the future life. But they are now the commonplaces of his school and have even won standing ground in other schools. He was a popular writer and as a preacher he won the ear of all classes by the facility, the fervor, the straightforwardness, and the practical character of his preaching.

The discourses preached at Marlborough College, of which he was for six years head master, are exceptionally interesting in the practical adaptation of the subjects chosen to the needs of young students, in their evangelical spirit, their religious earnestness, their human sympathies, their ethical aim, and in their vigorous and copious diction. They are direct and forceful in appeal, somewhat redundant and not wholly elegant in style, disclosing the intentness of the preacher upon practical and not upon artistic impression, abounding in literary citations, affluent, rushing, and must have made a strong impression. Lacking the solidity, dignity, sobriety, and poise of Arnold's and Tem-

ple's Rugby sermons, they are much more popular and interesting. The volume of Sermons and Addresses delivered in the United States in 1885, to which Phillips Brooks contributed an introduction, take a higher range and reach a higher altitude, attracting attention by their freshness of thought, clearness of outline, facility of expression, and their abundance of literary citation. They touch the realities of human life and show the author's familiarity with them. They disclose a catholic and practical spirit and are helpful in their human sympathies.

Archdeacon Farrar was not a close thinker, nor a very important teacher of religion, but he was one of the most influential and useful preachers of his day in the school to which he belonged.

There lives somewhere in retirement and at an advanced age, unless death has already claimed him, a genial broad churchman who was widely known thirty or forty years ago as a prolific and interesting writer and preacher, John Llewelyn Davies, rector at St. Marylebone. Those who were accustomed to read the English reviews and magazines came frequently into connection with him through his racy, sensible, discriminating articles on theological, social, and literary subjects. He has published five volumes of sermons. The most interesting and valuable, perhaps, are "The Christian Calling" and "The Gospel and Modern Life." They discuss important theological, liturgical, ethical, and ecclesiastical questions from the modern point of view and aim to meet modern difficulties. They are characterized by a large estimate of the Gospel in its connection with practical life, and seek to bring it into a great variety of life relations. They are very helpful discourses, bearing the marks of a well-balanced judgment, an analytic habit of mind, clearness and facility of statement, and are eminently promotive of practical godliness. The practical character of his thinking is

seen especially in "The Gospel and Modern Life." We note especially the humanistic as distinguished from the ecclesiastical point of view. There is nothing of the church dogmatist in his discussions of "Humanity and the Trinity," in which he would show that the needs of our human nature furnish a practical interpretation of the Trinity. And there is nothing of the sacramentarian in his discussion of "Common Worship" and "The Morality of the Lord's Supper."

The venerable James Maurice Wilson, Vicar of Rochdale and Archdeacon of Manchester, a Cambridge graduate, is manifestly one of the ablest, most pronounced and aggressive, but judicious and well balanced of the living representatives of the broad church school. A large portion of his life has been devoted to teaching, and its influence upon his clerical life is very apparent. For twenty years he was one of the masters at Rugby, where he taught mathematics and natural science, and he was subsequently for some years head master of Clifton College. The results of his studies in natural science, of whose disciplinary value in education he has been an advocate as well as an illustration, and in the introduction of which more fully into the preparatory schools of England he has been greatly interested, are manifest in his teaching of religion and theology. These studies have secured for him his point of view, have fixed his method, and determined his general attitude toward the problems of theology. He follows closely and consistently the inductive method and appeals to the facts of consciousness and of experience as he appeals to the facts of science. Logic in the realm of religion is for him of but relatively little primary value. To the authority of the church in fixing or in interpreting dogma he assigns a very limited sphere. The moral and religious intuitions and instincts and impulses, which are ever active in the normal and measurably even in the abnormal experiences of life, are of supreme significance. He appeals to Chris-

tianity as a living power in the world and finds in what it has done and is doing the proof of its divine reality. A discriminating clearness of thought, and accuracy, skill, and cogency of statement, are the characteristics of his literary style. In this he is almost the rival of Robertson, and in it, as in Robertson's case, we seem to detect the influence of the study of natural science. In a volume of "Essays and Addresses," published in 1887 and passed to a second edition in 1894, he discusses in a very straightforward manner some of the important current questions in ethics and theology, "The Authority of the Church," "The Theory of Inspiration, or Why Men do not Believe the Bible," "Christian Evidences," "Miracles," "Evolution," "Fundamental Church Principles," "Morality in the Public Schools," and "Higher Biblical Teaching and Instruction in the Churches," are among the themes discussed, and they are discussed in a very sane and satisfactory manner. The positions taken and the line of exposition and argument are those of the broad churchman, and they are eminently helpful. Most of his writings evince his profound interest in men who have come under the influence of modern agnosticism and they meet in a manly way their intellectual difficulties. It is clear that he himself has passed through the struggles of doubt, has fought his way through on to solid ground, and that he is eminently fitted to help those who are in a like struggle. His sympathy with all honest, manly seekers after truth, especially his interest in young men who have been deterred from entering the Christian life by the perplexities with which the religion of the modern world is invested, bespeak the genuine broad churchman, and suggest the immense value of the mediating influence of this school in adjusting Christianity to the intellectual disintegrations of the thought of our day. Four discourses on the "Gospel of the Atonement," the Hulsean Lectures for 1898, 1899, seek to get at the heart of the great reality and to meet the

perplexities of men, especially of young men, who by inadequate or by what he would regard as measurably false teaching have been alienated from it. They approach the subject in the inductive and experimental manner, and, although restricted in range, they are in their spiritual insight and sympathy of great practical value. The "Cambridge Lectures on Pastoral Theology" for 1903, to which reference has already been made, is a work that is worthy of thoughtful attention by the modern minister of whatever school. It covers but a limited field, but it touches its subjects fundamentally. Pastoral theology is the theology of pastoral experience, for the winning of which as knowledge the pastorate furnishes the best possible field and such theology should become a living reality in all forms of pastoral service. The book discloses the author's most characteristic traits, his interest in theological, scientific, and economic studies, his breadth of view, his grasp of the fundamental principles of his school, his scientific method, his ethical and philanthropic spirit, and his genuine patriotism. He entered the ministry, as already noted, comparatively late in life, and the value of his experiences as a teacher, and the thoroughness of his preparation during the entire period of his teaching, are seen in the quality of his work as a minister. His farewell sermon, when he left Rugby, on the power of the living Christ, has found permanent form, and although a very simple product, without anything that is obtrusive or striking, is interesting as illustrating the thoroughly practical character of his Christianity and his devotion to a practical and useful life. A discourse preached at Cambridge, which also has found permanent form in "The Anglican Pulpit of To-day," on "The Continuity of Religious Thought," is also interesting as illustrating the genuine conservatism of his broad churchmanship. He has published a volume of sermons preached at Clifton College, while head master there, and more recently a volume of "Rochdale Sermons." They

reveal his openness of vision and at the same time his solicitude for the conservation of permanent religious interests, his sympathy with those who are perplexed in faith, the blending of the ethical and religious spirit, and his supreme devotion to the theology whose source and end is life.

They are strong, sane, manly sermons, presenting religious themes in a straightforward but well-balanced manner. The technical problems of homiletics have apparently not interested him, and he shows no adequate conception of the value of homiletic form. The discourses are in the essay manner, with movement ahead, indeed, but without boundary marks that announce progress. Here, as everywhere, his thought, which is the chief interest, is weighty and solicits attention by its practical worth. Here too is the same lucidity, accurateness, and directness of style, the clear analysis, the felicity and force of statement, which become strongly tributary to the interest and profit of his pulpit teaching.

III

THE PREACHING OF THE ENGLISH FREE CHURCHES

As we have already seen, it was the revolt of the English Protestant conscience in defence of personal piety and of Biblical revelation against the traditional and institutional religion of the established church that furnished one of the chief historic sources for the preaching of English nonconformity. Puritanism and Wesleyanism, supported by Anglo-evangelicalism, are the great fountains of influence that are behind it and that have measurably given character to it during all stages of its subsequent development. It incorporates what is best in the original tradition and in its modern form reveals many of the most prominent traits of its historic sources.

I.

The dominant qualities of Puritan preaching are readily apprehended and may be easily classified. Some of them in a preliminary way may perhaps well be noted.

i. Its intellectual quality was notable. The Puritan preachers were, as a class, and in a prëeminent degree, advocates of an intelligent religion, a religion that can be intellectually appropriated and edifyingly taught. As a revelation of divine truth Christianity must appeal to human thought, and growth in Christian character and life demands an intelligent presentation of it. As a class they were men of profound and vigorous understanding, thoroughly educated according to the university standards

of their day, of robust and manly character, and of strong initiative in their intellectual leadership of the churches. Some of them have already been mentioned, and may well be recalled once more. They were such men as the learned Charnock; John Owen, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford and friend of Cromwell; Calamay, a prominent Presbyterian member of the Westminster Assembly; Manton, one of the most elaborate and ingenious of all the Puritan preachers; John Howe, the Independent, a strong theological and ethico-political writer as well as edifying and inspiring preacher; the fertile, industrious, and saintly Baxter; the brave and ingenious Bunyan; Marshall, the great pulpit orator and one of Cromwell's chaplains; Flavel, a most edifying evangelical preacher and writer on subjects pertaining to the practical Christian life. Later on there were such men as Watts and Doddridge, psalmists as well as prophets in their day. These and many others equally prominent were among the homiletic ancestors of the preachers of the modern English nonconforming churches. They were men of immense industry, of facile productiveness, and of wide-reaching and varied interests. Their fertility and ingenuity as preachers are no less striking than their skill in the defence of their Calvinistic theology in the form of treatises, or than their helpfulness and edifying suggestiveness in the discussion of themes relating to the practical Christian life. It was a necessity that such men should greatly honor religious intelligence and independence and enterprise.

ii. The pastoral quality of their preaching was therefore prominent. They were eminently edifying preachers. The congregation was committed to their charge to be built up into strong Christian manhood. They had indeed the unfailing evangelistic impulse and they sought to win men to the Christian life by spiritual conquest. But it was their ultimate and persistent aim to develop sound and earnest Puritan piety, and to build up sturdy

Puritan character. And thus, with all their insistence upon correct theological thinking, their aim was prevailingly practical. The sermon, long and elaborate though it might be, never failed with respect to practical application. Their themes were theological, but they were in general shaped with reference to the practical interests of edification as they understood them. It was strong, sound, evangelical preaching, according to their lights, aiming to reach the conscience and will through the understanding. Baxter's great work at Kidderminster was a monument of zeal and fidelity and wisdom as a shepherd of souls, and Bunyan, as a preacher to the common people, was not less pastoral than evangelistic, exhibiting the qualities of a robust understanding not less than of a brilliant imagination.

iii. A certain noble persuasiveness was another quality worthy of note in Puritan preaching. It is true that the best-known preachers among them would perhaps in our day be called elaborately instructive rather than popularly persuasive. From the point of view of our own time they would be called theological teachers rather than popular advocates. Methods of addressing the popular mind have greatly changed, and, Bunyan excepted, but few of the old Puritan preachers, tested by our standards, would be regarded as possessing the popular quality. And yet in and for their day, they were certainly persuasive and effective preachers. The opposition of the government in alliance with the church drove them into the field and conventicle, and under these and other unusual conditions, conditions in various ways promotive of practical effectiveness, they learned to speak with great directness and forcefulness. Their evangelical zeal and evangelistic purpose were also tributary to popular effects. Howe, with all his theological elaborateness, was not only a clear, but a strongly emotional preacher of great spiritual impressiveness. The same was preëminently true of Baxter, with

his intellectual clearness, his simplicity and naturalness, his ethical directness and spiritual pathos, and of Flavel, with his strong emotional earnestness, and especially of Bunyan, with his quaint imaginativeness and idiomatic strength.

They were, moreover, preachers of strong ethical purpose and, for their day, of wide-reaching human interests. Not only the political and ecclesiastical conditions of the age, but the Puritan theory of the relation of the church to the state, of the rights of the individual conscience and of the duty of the preacher to interest himself in public affairs called for a political type of preaching. This political note, which was characteristic of the preaching of Puritanism, was strikingly contrasted with the ecclesiastical note, which was characteristic of the preaching of the established church. As heirs to the traditions of the reformed church of Calvin, they were believers in the dominating power of Christianity as related to the great interests of human life, and especially to the interests of political life. The Revolution and the Commonwealth especially called forth this type of preaching. Howe, Cromwell's friend, had been a parliamentary preacher under the monarchy. Marshall, Cromwell's chaplain, was also a parliamentary preacher. They all dipped freely into political questions, but discussed them, not from the political, but from the ethical point of view, as their successors do in the free churches of our day. And with this virile ethical quality there was combined a searchingly emotional quality. Their preaching reached not only the consciences of men, but it undertook to reach their hearts and to subdue them to God as it subdued them to righteousness.

iv. The prophetic outlook of their preaching was another important feature. They may have been, they were, rigid in adherence to their theological creeds, and laid undue emphasis upon correct theological beliefs. But they were always ready to appeal from all human authority

to what they regarded as divine authority. They were not catholic or liberal or tolerant in theory or in spirit, according to the modern type, and were the enemies of all theological latitudinarianism. But they modified the Calvinism of their day and they did it with a boldness of initiative that was admirable. And, although jealously evangelical in spirit, they were, for their day, broad-minded men and had a worthy outlook upon the future. As being men of the free spirit and as believing in the illuminating and guiding presence of God in the souls of believers, it could not be otherwise. Baxter, in his conception of the Scriptures, and in his large estimate of the scope of redemption, anticipated in a measure much that is current in our day.

v. As anchoring directly to the Scriptures, even when defending the theological creeds of the churches, their preaching had a prevailingly Biblical quality. In the defence of their theology they were sometimes violently and rudely polemical, wherein, happily, their successors have parted company with them. But in all their arguments they sought to promote a rational faith, believing also that the Scriptures to which they appealed commended themselves to every man's conscience, and they accounted no defence as adequate that was not based upon divine revelation as attested by the witnessing Spirit within. According to their lights they were most diligent Biblical students, and sought always to interpret and apply the results of their studies to edification in Christian character and to guidance in Christian conduct. The topical sermon was not so common in the Puritan as in the Anglican pulpit. The textual and expository method was more frequent, and the expository sermon adjusted itself to doctrinal discussion.

These are a few of the salient features of early Puritan preaching, which left its mark on the Puritan preachers of the eighteenth century, and the successors of the early

generations have been men of much the same spirit and have wrought in much the same method. In a certain intellectual manliness, the tradition of the elder day has been perpetuated. Its prophetic outlook upon the future, its spiritual freedom, its evangelical devotion, its evangelistic zeal, its pastoral fidelity, its ethical incentive, its rhetorical cogency and its Biblical tone and method, modified indeed by the influences at work in modern life, are with the churches still.

vi. But Puritanism in the eighteenth century, as we have seen, had deteriorated. Scepticism and moral decay had invaded its ranks, and from its pristine purity, dignity, and force its preaching had seriously declined. A new moral and spiritual power was needed to rescue it from this deterioration. It was found in the great Wesleyan and Anglo-evangelical revival, to which attention has already been directed, but which demands fuller consideration in this connection. It left most important results upon all the dissenting bodies of England that have been perpetuated to our own time, and no worthy estimate of the preaching of the English free churches, in any branch of them, will fail to give it due recognition. The most important result was the restoration of the Christian life more completely to the realm of conscious religious experience. Religion, as we have seen, in all the churches had become in large measure external. On its theoretic side, as it appeared in the theology of the churches, Christianity was defended largely upon the basis of its external evidences. This method of defence allied itself with the rationalizing tendencies of the day, and in the process reason was divorced from the sum total of religious experience. The ethical and spiritual forms of experience were undervalued and rationality became a one-sided rationalism. On the practical side Christianity in the established churches had become institutional, and undertook to dominate the individual conscience and life by external

control. The conflict between Anglicanism and Methodism, as earlier between it and Puritanism, was a conflict between external authority and internal conviction, between institutionalism and spiritual freedom. Thus the religious life of Anglicanism had become excessively churchly and formal, and its preaching unreal and unfruitful. Puritanism itself had become subject to a considerable extent to the prevailing scepticism and the religious externality of the day, although it had never wholly lost its pristine freedom, nor its pulpit its evangelical power. But it undertook to substitute for traditional, ecclesiastical authority the external and formal authority of the apostolic Scriptures in the vindication of evangelical freedom. Church life in all its forms must have the exact mark of Scriptural authority. Thus ultimately the churches lost much of their evangelical piety and church life became external. The revival movement was based upon the sacred rights of the inner spiritual life. It was a restoration of the mystical element in religion which liberated men from bondage to external authority. It was indeed not an extreme form of sentimental mysticism that undervalued the authority of the Scriptures and all external institutions and ordinances, such as we find in the Society of Friends, nor a speculative mysticism, such as we find in Swedenborgianism, both of which are products of the century and took root in England. It was an evangelical type of mysticism, that was not only in harmony with the objectively given facts and truths of historic Christianity but with their embodiment in church institutions. The first and most immediate result, therefore, of this great movement upon the preaching of all the free churches of England was to bring it back anew and more fully than ever before to an experimental basis. It was another fresh product of experimental religion. It became once more a "testimony" to the realities of the inner life. Upon this basis lay preaching became common. And all this affected the subject-

matter of preaching by bringing it more completely within the central circle of the great, chief truths and facts of the Gospel. It affected also its tone by making it a more emotional and sympathetic and spiritual as well as ethical utterance, and its form by the introduction of greater simplicity, unelaborateness, directness, and forcefulness.

Another result of the revival was a movement in the direction of Christian catholicity, fellowship, and unity, which has been perpetuated and is realized to-day in the closer confederation of all the free churches. Puritanism, as tending towards an extreme of individualism and of separateness, was weak on the side of comprehension, catholicity, and fellowship. It consequently lacked an important element of the missionary spirit. The revival brought the different branches of dissent into closer working relations. A new spirit of brotherhood and of coöperation was awakened, which has never been lost. Independency became Congregationalism, and Presbyterian and Congregational churches began to coöperate in missionary enterprise, a movement that reached the United States and at one time was fully developed here. It was a period from which date new home and foreign missionary efforts. Voluntary associations of various sorts — missionary societies, Bible societies, tract societies, temperance and Sunday-school societies — sprang into existence and a new impetus was given to Christian literature. The effect of all this upon the preaching of the nonconforming bodies was that it was broadened. It secured for it a more distinctly evangelistic and in general missionary character. It became, and it continues to be, more popularly effective. It is true that we still find diversities of type in the preaching of the English free churches. They have not reached a common standard. Each branch of nonconformity has its own homiletic peculiarities, which correspond measurably to what we find in the United States. Denominational idiosyncrasies are perpetuated,

each communion bearing its own historic mark, and so perhaps a greater variety of wants is met. But in different degrees and in different ways all the free churches disclose their responsiveness to the modifying influences of the age, and there are some things that are to a considerable extent common and that stand out with a considerable degree of prominence which may well claim our attention.

II.

i. On its intellectual side the preaching of the modern free churches discloses an increasing prevalence of the reflective habit of mind. It has been characterized as more philosophical than the preaching even of a quarter of a century ago. It is somewhat difficult to define just what is meant by this. But it is evident that the preaching of English nonconformity is less objective than that of a former period. It is more subjective and analytical, dealing more fully with the inner realities of things. It enters more completely into the realm of human experience. The meditative takes the place of the dogmatic habit of mind, and mental sobriety moderates all excess of passion.

This subjective and reflective habit of mind has a general tendency toward mysticism. The mystical and the philosophical spirit are not far remote from each other. Many of the free-church preachers, like Dr. Horton, are of a pronounced mystical tendency, and as such are among the most suggestive and helpful of English preachers.

It is not preëminently a learned pulpit. But few of the training schools of the free churches have reached the highest mark of excellence, and the great historic schools of learning have not until recently been open to them. Their ministers have not in general the culture of the Anglican clergy. They are, in fact, less learned than their ecclesiastical ancestors. They are practical preachers and much

less apologetic than their fathers. They are to a considerable extent self-educated men, and in their intellectual struggles they become inventive and self-reliant. Their faculties are not trained in scholastic lines, but in the school of experience. They have brooded upon the realities of human life and have learned to interpret them in a clear and cogent manner. Their constituencies demand that when they enter the pulpit they have something worth while to say, and what they say comes from the field of independent reflection and meets the wants of their hearers because it interprets their lives to them. They are, to a large extent, Biblical preachers, and they have a better grasp than ever before of the inner significance of Biblical truth. But with their analytic, reflective habit there is good sense and clear thinking put into direct, forceful speech, and it is eminently effective preaching.

ii. English preaching in general has not been characterized by surplus sentiment or feeling. It has been more confessional than mystical, objective and realistic than inward and sentimental. The typical Englishman is constitutionally reserved. It is not natural for him to disclose freely his inner life. If he becomes emotional and sentimental, he is in danger of degenerating into cant and unreality, as evangelicalism and Methodism have at times demonstrated. But while the practical faculties abundantly assert themselves in the preaching of the free churches, one clearly discerns the influence of the subjective tendencies of our day. It is therefore characterized by a larger measure of feeling and sentiment, balanced by a habit of thoughtfulness, than was found in the preaching of a former period, and thus discloses a fuller culture of the religious life. There is often discernible in it the note of pathos, which suggests familiarity with the sufferings and hardships of human life. The sentiment of compassion seems to have been richly cultivated by their preachers, and the tone of harshness that often character-

ized their predecessors has vanished. Their preaching enters more fully than ever before into the experiences of the human soul. It comes into closer contact with the life of the people and grapples sympathetically with the disorders of human life. It has appropriated the spirit of modern literature which expresses the passions, the longings, and the dissatisfactions of the soul, and the culture of life and of literature have made it more human.

iii. It is natural, therefore, that it should exhibit a well-balanced combination of the didactic and the persuasive, of the pastoral and the evangelistic elements. Not only the culture of ministerial life but the demands of the constituencies of the free churches necessitate this combination. The members of these communions must be won to a large extent evangelistically. They are not baptized into the churches, and do not take their places there by right of baptism. Pastoral edification is indeed a prominent aim in the preaching of these churches, but edification according to the dogmatic method has vanished.

As in most of the Protestant churches of our day indoctrination has ceased to be synonymous with edification. It is Biblical religion rather than church doctrine that nurtures the religious life. And it is the Biblical and experimental quality that furnishes a type of preaching that is persuasive and a type of persuasion that is based on teaching.

iv. In form, therefore, the preaching of the free churches has in an eminent degree the modern suggestive rather than the elaborate quality. English preaching in general is in our day characterized by colloquial simplicity and practical directness. The rhetorical stateliness and ornateness of a former period has vanished. The influence of the parliamentary type of speech is marked. It has a simple, straightforward, businesslike quality. This influence is prominent and preëminent in the preaching of the free churches, which is dominated so largely by

the practical and democratic spirit of the age. The influence also of modern literary culture is seen here. The training of simpler literary tastes, which is a mark of our time, and the more direct, straightforward business-like method of dealing with all questions that are brought before the public, and which is a characteristic product of a commercial age, are the two influences that explain measurably the naturalness, unpretentiousness, unelaborateness and colloquial directness of the rhetoric and oratory that carry the preaching of these churches. In structural simplicity and in rhetorical freedom it is at once attractive and forceful. It has been supposed that the influence of Mr. Spurgeon is to be seen in all this. But it is in fact quite independent of him. Mr. Spurgeon has only furthered what preceded him and produced him.

The preaching of nonconformity, then, is practical and popular. It touches human life on all sides and interprets all forms of human experience. The whole modern world is open to it. Political, industrial, philanthropic as well as ecclesiastical and religious questions are thrust upon it. As a consequence, pulpit individuality is nowhere in England so fully developed, and no type of English preaching is so popular. The dominance of Anglicanism has cast a shadow over nonconformity and loaded it with many disabilities. But it has never succeeded in thwarting its purposes, nor in permanently crippling its work. It has a firmer grip than ever before upon the intelligence and the enterprise of the middle classes of England. Its increasing power over the masculine mind is worthy of special note. It is a force to be reckoned with in English politics and in all questions of social reform, and it has wrought effectively in modifying the preaching of the Anglican church.

v. With respect to the doctrinal quality of the preaching of English nonconformity, one readily recognizes the conservative habit of what may be called the evangelical

type of faith. Theological radicalism in English nonconformity is for the most part represented by the so-called liberal wing of the free churches, as it is by the broad church wing of the establishment. But the free churches, for the more part, cherish the evangelical spirit, and are making effort to hold the continuity of evangelical church life and to perpetuate in a rational and progressive manner the evangelical traditions. It is true that the spirit of personal and ecclesiastical freedom, to which all the nonconforming churches of England are heirs, renders them readily responsive to the movements of modern thought. The spirit of free inquiry is nowhere repressed, although we occasionally hear of sporadic instances of theological intolerance, and these churches are not only responsive to theological innovations, but are hospitable to all that looks toward the future of religious and theological progress. But with all their freedom and hospitality, allegiance to the Gospel of Christ, as containing the great message of redemption, is still a strong characteristic of English nonconformity. It is true that there is more careful discrimination than formerly between what is primary and what is secondary in Christian doctrine, and some teachings that were once regarded as a vital part of the evangelical faith have been abandoned as untrue, or at any rate as of minor importance. Modified conceptions of the character of God and of the nature and scope of redemption disclose themselves especially in the eschatology of these churches. Corresponding communions in the United States are on the whole somewhat more conservative in their eschatology. The Congregationalists of England have, according to the testimony of Dr. Allon, abandoned the doctrine of eternal punishment as formerly held by them. Dr. Binney, whose influence in holding the Congregational churches to the anchorage ground of the evangelical faith was strong, broke at this point with the evangelical tradition. But, on the other hand,

the English nonconforming churches still hold more firmly to what may be called the evangelical centre, and they reach further back into the heart of it than some of the corresponding churches in the United States. They seem, on the whole, to have appropriated more cautiously, and perhaps judiciously, the results of modern Biblical and theological criticism. They do not seem to regard the atonement, however modified their conceptions of it may be, as an abandoned theological centre. They may have appropriated a more realistic and less speculative conception of it, but they have not allowed themselves to be dislodged from what has central significance in it. The influence of Horace Bushnell upon the English free churches has doubtless been strong, although it has not resulted in the adoption of his views of the atonement by many of their prominent representatives. But Bushnell himself, so far from abandoning the atonement as a doctrinal centre, simply sought to secure for it a stronger, because, as he was persuaded, a more rational and more Christian basis. What is ethically vital and commanding in the great outstanding historic fact of the atonement still seems to dominate the thought and life of English nonconformity as a whole. Nor have they apparently to any very considerable extent abandoned the historic basis of the incarnation and of the resurrection, nor have they substituted for the historic Christ of the Gospels a sublimated, idealized, unhistoric, semi-docetic Christ, who never entered the human race supernaturally and never left it in a corresponding manner. Nor do they, in thus holding to the anchorage ground of historic Christianity, apparently regard themselves as belonging to the uninstructed crowd, or as bereft of the fellowship of the intellectually and spiritually élite in the Kingdom of God. The tone of evangelical fervor and seriousness that characterizes the preaching of most English nonconformists whom it has been the privilege of the American churches

to hear, or whom it has been the privilege of American preachers to hear in their own churches in England, has made a most favorable impression. And the stress point here is that this evangelical tone is a genuine product of the faith of the churches in supernatural Christianity. It is this in large measure that secures for it the greater cogency and effectiveness. There is in it a persuasive power, the full measure of which one fails to find in American preaching, even among those churches which are also heirs to the old Puritan and Wesleyan tradition.

III.

The modern conditions of pulpit effectiveness are conspicuously illustrated in the different free church communions.

i. English Presbyterianism has drifted from the anchorage ground of the Westminster confession. In fact, it has practically, if not consciously and deliberately, thrown off all allegiance to it, and thereby has become more Christian and genuinely evangelical. In the preaching of its most cultivated representatives there is scarcely a distinguishable relic of the old Presbyterian confessionalism. It renders loyal allegiance to historic Christianity, and some of the ablest English defenders of supernaturalism are found in this communion. But the doctrinal Christianity of a former period is not known. Its conception of the nature and authority of the Scriptures has been modified, and its preaching is of an experimental and practical character. It holds with tenacity the Puritan tradition of a learned ministry, but lays new stress upon the consecrated spiritual gifts of the preacher, upon the soul's immediate contact with Christ, upon the witness of the Spirit in the individual believer and in the community of believers, and upon the validating significance of Christian experience in testing the claims of Christian

truth. In its conflict with the naturalistic criticism that denies the historic reality of the Christ of the Gospels, the old Puritan truth of the indwelling of the exalted Christ by his Spirit and the knowledge of Christ in experience, have received new emphasis. In the Rev. Dr. W. Robertson Nicoll, well and most favorably known as editor of the *Expositor*, "The Expositor's Bible," "The Expositor's Greek Testament," and the *British Weekly*, we are brought into connection with a man of competent Biblical learning and of high literary accomplishments who defends supernatural Christianity with conspicuous vigor and skill and with weapons that are adequate to the needs of our day. In his little volume "The Church's One Foundation," which deals with the person of Christ and recent criticism, he meets the naturalistic assumptions of the critics with the counter assumption of the supernatural, and defends the position that the incarnation and resurrection constitute the centre of Christianity as a historic religion. But he discloses full confidence in sane, critical processes and in the results of honest historical investigation, and will meet the critics on their own ground. His skill in literary criticism and his expert knowledge of its canons or regulative principles won in the fields of general literary culture, enable him to deal most trenchantly with the subjective caprice of the new school of Biblical critics. "It is useless to lift up hands of horror. The critics must be met, otherwise the door of faith will be closed on multitudes."

The battle for Christianity turns not on the inerrancy of the narratives nor on their authorship. Faith is not belief in a book, but in a Christ who brings a redemptive revelation. This historic Christ is a reality, and we may know him as such. But we know him also in inward experience, and are not wholly dependent for our knowledge of him upon learning, nor upon apologetic defences, nor upon critical acumen. Christ may be known as a

spiritual presence and power, in relative independence of critical and historical investigation. And here we have in fresh form the old Presbyterian doctrine of the witness of the Spirit of the living Christ in the souls of believers. Christianity is "primarily a converting and sanctifying power," a permanent miracle, and "secondarily and only secondarily, a moral and social lever, an agent in the salvation of society." Sin is a dark reality, "the deep and fatal wound of humanity — that must be healed," — and here, too, we have the old Presbyterian evangel, but in modern form.

Dr. John Watson, the peer of his friend Dr. Nicoll in literary culture and skill, and a most interesting interpreter of evangelical Christianity, is another of the notable representatives of modern English Presbyterianism. His essays, which apparently were originally in the form of sermons, have reached a wide circle of readers. "Companions of the Sorrowful Way," which deals with the friends, helpers, and comforters of Jesus in his earthly career, and "The Upper Room," which deals in like suggestive and impressive manner with the persons, scenes, and events associated with the last earthly experiences of our Lord, are among the best modern books of devotional reading, of which there is so lamentable a lack. In their spiritual helpfulness, their tender pathos, and their fineness of literary touch, they are a treasure. Dr. Watson is widely known as a man of independent and catholic spirit, but, equally with Dr. Nicoll, he is devoted to the evangelical faith as it is held by the broadest thinkers of his church. His theological views appear in definite form in "The Doctrines of Grace." It is a forceful and skilful defence, in attractive literary form and in generous catholic spirit, of Christianity as a supernatural force in life. The Divinity of Christ and his vicarious sacrifice are with him the central and catholic truths of Christianity. Election is a provincial doctrine at best,

highly objectionable in its old Calvinistic form, and must be restated to be acceptable at all. The sacrifice of Christ is interpreted by human analogies and is represented as containing nothing that is exceptional or unique in principle. Christ's identification with the human race conditions his sacrificial effectiveness. It avails, moreover, because it is a holy sacrifice and because it is the sacrifice of God himself. But it declares not only the love of God for sinful men, but his hatred of their sin, and this answers to our ethical needs, for we do not, on moral grounds, wish an easy pardon. Miracle is not a subversion of law, but a new application of it. It belongs to a higher realm of law and discloses it. One may deny supernatural grace and as a deist fight a good fight against sin, although such a one will lack the inspiration which a supernatural power may bring. The sentiment of mercy, which was defective in the old English Presbyterianism, is abundantly manifest in its modern representatives, and it is at just this point that their break with the old Calvinist tradition is most signal. "One were surely not worthy to be called after Christ's name," says Dr. Watson, "who should be willing that any person be condemned to endless misery, and he would be unworthy of the name of a man who could think of his fellow-creatures in a hopeless hell without mercy."[1] Restoration is "the hope we all would cherish, and which would make glad our hearts; it is the consummation we believe God desires, and which would be the crown of Christ's work." Yet punishment remains as long as sin remains, and "among the mercies of God by which we are weaned from unrighteousness and held in the way everlasting, not the least is the punishment of sin both in this world and in that which is to come.[2]

In common with all the free churches we see in English Presbyterianism the influence of modern life as well as modern thought. Its leaders are among the most aggres-

[1] "The Doctrines of Grace," 277. [2] *Ibid.*, 293.

sive in the support of evangelistic preaching. Some of its churches are largely composed of those who have been won by those open-air evangelistic services, which are much more common in England than in the United States. Dr. John McNeil, formerly pastor of Regent Square Presbyterian Church of London, is one of the most noted and popular mission preachers of England, and through his influence the new awakening of the churches in support of evangelistic preaching has been accelerated. He entered the ministry in the maturity of his powers, and his early experiences in the English railway service and the eight years of study required by the Presbyterian church have fitted him excellently well for the mission work in which he is engaged, and which has taken him into all parts of Great Britain and the Colonies. His three volumes of published sermons are of the evangelistic type, and are notable for their elevation of tone and for their forcefulness and practical effectiveness.

ii. English Methodism has enlarged its intellectual horizon and reveals, among the more intelligent classes of its adherents, the same aspiration for scientific and literary culture which we find in American Methodism, and which awakens anxiety in many thoughtful minds as to its possible effect upon that special type of evangelistic service in which it has been so conspicuously successful and useful. Men of no insignificant attainments in physical science and in exegetical science, like Dr. Joseph A. Beet, and in dogmatics like Dr. William B. Pope, are numbered among its ministers. In England, as well as in the United States, other communions are indebted to it for some of their most effective preachers. In various aspects of its development — intellectual, ecclesiastical, and practical — it shows itself to be emancipated to a large extent from a certain crudeness and provincialism that characterized a former period. But with the broadening of its scope it is still true to what has been distinctive of it as a religious

movement. More fully, perhaps, than American Methodism does it in the best sense disclose the power of the Wesleyan tradition. It is not without significance as to the true genius of English Methodism, and is by no means suggestive altogether of unfaithfulness or incompetence, that the Salvation Army sprung from its loins, for it has detached and embodied, in crude form it may be, some of the best features of Methodism. Wesleyanism is preeminently the religion of the spirit, the religion of the inner life, the religion of fervid emotion, of practical self-denial, of principled unworldliness, of philanthropic and missionary enterprise. Still as ever, only in higher form and fuller measure, it reveals the beneficent results for the pulpit of a system of professional training in which men "learn to preach by preaching" and by the inspiration of personal example and concrete illustration, as well as by the application of formal rules or the study of abstract theories. It must be acknowledged that for purposes of practical effectiveness the homiletic training of English Methodist preachers is most admirable, and is worthy of careful study.

The late Rev. Hugh Price Hughes was perhaps the most notable representative of that type of modern English Methodism that would combine a higher scientific and literary culture with greater practical ecclesiastical effectiveness. He was in part Welsh, and, like many other prominent English preachers, he shared the religious susceptibility, the force, the passion, and the eloquence of his ancestry. At the London University, from which he graduated at an early age, there were developed those literary and scientific tastes and aspirations that led him in the early period of his ministry into disrelish of, and even a certain opposition to, the revival methods of his church. His tastes allied him with the more refined and cultivated classes in his communion, and he was never quite at home with the emotional excitement to which a

portion of the constituency of his church is susceptible. But the pressure of life and the exigencies of his ministry, with the deepening of his own religious experience, forced him from the sphere of literary aspiration and rescued him to the evangelism of his communion, which, however, he developed in higher forms and by broader methods, becoming its most effective preacher in this combination of literary culture and evangelistic zeal. Under his leadership English Methodism has greatly enlarged the scope of its social activities and of its philanthropic and missionary enterprise. Its different branches have been brought into closer coöperation, and, although the so-called "Forward Movement" of the free churches, by which they have been brought into closer relation and fuller and more effective coöperation, originated with Congregationalism, it was to a large extent through his skilful and forceful advocacy in pulpit and in press, that it was furthered and became an assured success. By reason of his skill in meeting the educated classes, he was in his early ministry sent to Oxford, where he introduced open-air meetings, organizing young men, students, and others, for combined work, sending them out into neighboring villages in groups of four, and in a year and a half won fifteen hundred new members to his churches.

In West London, later on, which became the scene of his permanent and most successful ministry, he initiated a widespread evangelistic movement in the interests of the unchurched classes. He introduced changes in practical administration that were somewhat revolutionary. Somewhat after the Salvation Army methods conditions were modified to meet the needs of the crowds he sought to win. Church buildings were remodelled and made more attractive, commodious, and convenient, the high pulpit gave place to the broad platform, and brass bands did service in front of church or hall and called the crowds.

Economic questions and questions in general relating to the external and earthly welfare of the people were discussed on Sunday afternoon and became tributary in a subordinate way to the evangelistic movement. Price Hughes, as he is familiarly known, was distinguished not less as editor, platform orator, reformer, and organizer than as preacher, and in the various forms of his skilful advocacy and administrative initiative he greatly furthered the cause of evangelism and philanthropy and of an intelligent Christianity in his church. He published several volumes of sermons. "Ethical Christianity," a volume of fourteen short sermons of less than two hundred pages, discloses characteristically his vein and are well worth reading. The themes are timely and practical and the discussion is attractive and forceful. They suggest the spirit of the reformer. A critical tone runs through them all. His illustrations are from passing public events. His theology is broad, ethical, and human. He discloses his familiarity with current secular literature, and citations from a wide and miscellaneous group of masters abound. Carlyle, Ruskin, Tyndall, Matthew Arnold, Sir Edwin Arnold, Shakespeare, George Eliot, Mazzini, Tennyson, and Browning all appear. The style is clear and strong. Short sentences further the force of the utterance, and everywhere we have the mental objectivity and common sense of the Englishman.

A man of kindred tastes, culture, and evangelistic zeal is the Rev. Mark Guy Pearce. He was a student of medicine before entering upon the work of the ministry, and his scientific in connection with his subsequent theological and homiletic training has fitted him eminently for the sort of work to which he seems to be called and in which he has been engaged in various important communities in England since 1863. For the last fifteen or sixteen years he has been connected with the West London mission at St. James Hall, to which he was

designated as coadjutor by Mr. Hughes, who made Mr. Pearce's acceptance the condition of his own entrance upon that most notable work. He is favorably known to his public as a writer of stories and in several volumes of sermons. "The Christianity of Christ, is it ours?" "Short Talks for the Times," "The God of our Pleasures," and "Christ's Cure for Care" are titles suggestive of the practical and timely character of his preaching. As a preacher he perpetuates the same general style of aggressive, ethical, popular address in which his better known and more widely influential colleague was so effective.

iii. Among the free churches, the Baptist communion has always been distinguished by its sturdy individualism and its theological and ecclesiastical independence, and its preachers surpass all others in uncompromising hostility to what they regard as the arrogant assumptions, pretensions, and oppressions of the Anglican church. It has concentrated upon a few of the great outstanding facts and truths of Biblical religion which it has regarded as central and supreme, and with characteristic devotion and courage, according to its understanding of them, it has proclaimed them. Its preaching, accordingly, has been notable for its Biblical spirit and method. It has persistently cultivated the evangelistic mind, and the same evangelistic zeal, missionary ardor, evangelical fervor, and devotion to the recognized religious needs of its constituencies, that marked its origin and later development are still conspicuous. Its esprit de corps, its steadfast devotion to covenant life, and the close unity in which its communities are held by the covenant bond, its loyalty to what it regards as the historic and Christian conception of the sacraments and of the church, the scenic impressiveness of its baptismal service, its accurate knowledge of the people to whom it appeals, these and other peculiarities have secured for its preaching a certain distinctive character. Its directness, forcefulness, and in

general its popular quality are notable. As represented by Mr. Spurgeon[1] and his followers, who have been reactionists against what they have been pleased to call the "down-grade movement" of modern theological thought and scholarship, there has lingered about it a good deal of the old Calvinistic dogmatism and that combination of literalism and allegorical fancifulness in Biblical exposition and application that belongs to a former period. But the prominent ministers of the Baptist Union, with which Mr. Spurgeon and his followers broke, among whom as leaders are Dr. Alexander Maclaren and Dr. John Clifford, are the true representatives of the modern Baptist pulpit of England, in which many peculiarities have been tempered by the modern spirit of catholicity and comprehensiveness and moderated and modified by increasing respect for good learning and culture. But with all of Mr. Spurgeon's excesses and shortcomings, no one may safely question the greatly and widely beneficial influence, within his own communion, upon other free church bodies, and even upon the Anglican church and upon the English pulpit at large, especially among the so-called middle classes which he has exerted personally and measurably through the "Pastors' College" and other allied institutions which he founded and of which he was the inspiring spirit and in which though dead he still speaks. The aim of the "Pastors' College" has been to train effective preachers and pastors after Mr. Spurgeon's type. No man may be received to its membership who has not already tested his gifts and won some success as preacher and pastor, thus at the outset verifying his calling and vindicating his right to further training for the pastoral office. The mark of Mr. Spurgeon's personality, with all its excellencies and defects, is upon it. Any lack of evangelical faith, as he understood it, which means the

[1] See estimate of Mr. Spurgeon in "Representative Modern Preachers," Ch. IX.

faith once delivered to the Calvinistic saints, or of the evangelistic spirit, and any dalliance with modern theological or critical opinions, that are out of harmony with the creed of the Baptist churches as held by him, are frowned upon as mortal sins. The natural tendency of such a régime would seem to be to brand the product with the mark of a monotonous sameness. The speech of men thus trained must bewray them, and one easily credits the judgment of one of the ablest and most prominent of English Baptist ministers to the effect that in some respects this school has done about as much harm as good. But what is lacking in independence of thought is after a fashion compensated by the culture of a certain individuality of manner, style, and method, which the curriculum promotes.

The men live separately. There is no close class life. They are trained in laborious study, according to its kind, and are encouraged to cultivate the homiletic virtue of naturalness. Large numbers of men have been sent out from this school who have doubtless done much good service for the Baptist churches and for the cause of evangelical religion, and have exerted a salutary influence upon the general community.

The English Baptist churches that adhere to the doctrine and practice of immersion, and that are theoretically committed to ecclesiastical exclusiveness, refuse to carry this exclusiveness to its logical issues, and in their committal to open communion have been in advance of their sister churches in the United States. Mr. Spurgeon, with all his limitations, was a man so far forth of catholicity as well as independence of spirit. With this the "Pastors' College" is in sympathy, and in many cases it is difficult to see what differentiates the Baptist from the Congregational churches, or justifies their separate existence. But it must be said that in its intolerance of the historical and critical method of dealing with the Scriptures, and in gen-

eral in its lack of respect for the fruits of modern scholarship and culture the Spurgeon following does not fairly represent the Baptist churches of our day.

Dr. Alexander Maclaren of Manchester is doubtless the foremost figure in the ministry of the Baptist churches and their most accomplished preacher. There are those who would call him the most accomplished preacher in the free churches. Dr. Joseph Parker regarded him as having no superior in England. He has been called the "Ruskin" of the English pulpit, and his preaching has been characterized as "one of the chief literary influences of Manchester." He is by birth a Scotchman and has the Scotch genius for preaching. Graduated at the early age of nineteen from his theological college, which was affiliated with London University, he has been in the ministry for sixty years. Southampton and Manchester are the two centres of his pastoral life. The year 1845, in which he entered the ministry, was a notable one. It was the year of crisis in the Oxford Movement, and of the Scottish Church Disruption. The free churches were stirred by the questions involved, and Dr. Maclaren shared the influence, becoming one of the strongest advocates of free-church principles. He came into close touch with leaders in the Congregational churches, among them Dr. Binney, "the man who taught me how to preach." He began his ministry with the purpose to concentrate his strength upon the work of the pulpit, holding that "the secret of success for all our ministers is very largely in the simple charm of concentrating their intellectual force on the work of preaching."[1] He has been a most diligent student and his intellectual productiveness is attested in the large number of volumes issued by him. Among his volumes of sermons, a considerable number of which are of the expository type, is "The Conquering Christ and other Sermons," issued in the series entitled

[1] Alexander Maclaren, "The Man and his Message," 108.

"Preachers of the Age." The Biblical quality of the discourses is evident at once, although they are not in the technical sense expository. He has from the first been a conscientious and laborious student of the Bible, and his critical knowledge of the Hebrew and English Old Testament appears in his expository work. His skill in verbal analysis contributes a suggestive quality to his preaching and illustrates the value of a philological study of the New Testament with the aid of such writers as Wiener, Buttman, Cremer, and Alford. His use of Biblical material both in exposition and application is judicious. His apprehension of the typical and analogical principle in Biblical interpretation reminds us of Tholuck. He rarely uses his text in the way of accommodation and he recognizes the distinction between metaphorical and argumentative analogy. Dr. John Brown, in his "Puritan Preachers," lays accent, and justly, upon the evangelical quality in Dr. Maclaren's preaching. He was early impressed by the Augustinian theology, and his recognition of sin, atonement, and the incarnation, as central realities with which the preacher must deal, is evident. He conceives it to be his duty to deal with the individual heart and conscience and to devote himself to the renewal and edification of manhood. He lays accent upon a life of reflection and of communion with Christ in religious experience and culture and dreads the lack thereof in the "whipped-up activity" of our age. Hence he has but little to do with so-called social questions. "There must be individual Christianity before there can be social. It must be possessed before it can be applied." Yet he recognizes the significance of social ethics and his church is well organized for useful work. But his evangelicalism is rational and he shares the modern catholicity of spirit. His church is organized upon a simple basis. Faith in Christ and Scriptural baptism are the only conditions of membership. That theology should be "Christ centred,"

that we should return to the Gospels, that there should be less doctrine and more person, that the regal functions of Christ should receive stronger emphasis, that metaphysics should be eliminated from theology, that progress in revelation should be recognized, and that in the light of it we should find the Bible greatly enriched, — these are some of the views that show the modernity and rationality of his evangelicalism. His thought has solid substance and moves high up in the altitudes of religion and theology, but is always translated into popular speech. It combines admirably the Biblical and the experimental, the objective and the subjective qualities. His method is orderly in an eminent degree. His topics, which are largely Biblical, stand out as road marks to point the way of the journey. His literary tastes were early cultivated, and writers like Emerson, Carlyle, and Ruskin were from the first tributary to the nurture of his literary impulses. His diction is dignified, accurate, often elegant, but not lacking in the force of aphoristic utterance nor in a sometimes Carlylean energy of vocabulary. His illustrations are not numerous, but are from various sources, and are exceptionally exact and pertinent. Paul's literary style is appositely likened to the "flower-like decorations which encrust the firm framework of the upper spire of Antwerp Cathedral. They hide but do not weaken the direct upward spring of the rigid metal." His sermons are only in part written and are appropriately and judiciously modern as to length. His delivery is said to be deliberate and self-poised. There is but little action, although there is a suggestion of subdued intensity, and his voice in its melody suggests his Scottish ancestry. He is the preacher's preacher, who incorporates the best of other days and illustrates the possibilities of the pulpit in a superficial age.

Dr. John Clifford of London is not less earnest than Dr. Maclaren in his advocacy of an educated and cultivated

ministry, but represents more fully modern broad churchmanship, and the aggressiveness of modern church leadership. The limitations of his early life, which made it necessary for him to leave school at eleven years of age and to give himself with his father to hard manual labor in a factory, resulted in experiences that have intensified his interest in and sympathy for the working classes and the so-called common people, and have won practical resources that have proved to be of much service in his church leadership. His early education was, like that of Dr. Binney, "picked up." Entering the Christian life at the age of fourteen, he felt himself drawn toward the ministry. Like Spurgeon he began to preach at the age of sixteen, and was licensed by his home church while yet without academic or professional education. Graduating from the theological college at the age of twenty-two, he accepted a call from what is now known as the Westbourne Park Baptist Church of London, of which he has been pastor for forty-seven years. Before entering fully upon his pastoral duties, however, he took the full academic course at London University and later on took the degree of its law department. Thus, notwithstanding his early limitations, he is a man thoroughly equipped for his important work. Among the ministers of his church he is distinctly the broad churchman. In admission of members to his church he leaves the mode of baptism wholly to the individual conscience. He is an advocate of the domestic conception of the church, consecrating the children of his congregation and accepting a covenant discipleship as sole condition of church membership. He is opposed to all testing creeds, and in the "Down Grade" controversy antagonized Mr. Spurgeon, who would impose such a creed upon the Baptist Union. He is a broad theologian. His conception of the Bible is modern. Its authority is in the truth that finds response within us, and here lies its power. His view of the atonement

is nearer to that of Robertson than to that of Dale. Unitarian influences apparently have modified his views, but the devoutness of his piety has never been compromised and he has held his place in the evangelical churches. His chief significance is in his practical leadership. He is intensely democratic and believes profoundly in a democratic church. His own church is largely institutional. His philanthropies are wide reaching. He is the fighting liberal of his church, holding much the same place that Dr. Dale held among the Congregationalists. In all cooperative movements in the free churches he is prominent and preëminent. He has been called the hero of nonconformity, antagonizing with a superb courage and skill the educational bill of the English government. He works with intensity and concentration and in all his multifarious activities he finds time to keep himself in touch with the best modern Biblical and literary culture. He has published several volumes of sermons. Among these "Daily Strength for Daily Living," "Christian Certainties," "The Secret of Jesus," "Is Life Worth Living?" In early life he came into contact with Emerson, and Emerson has remained a life influence. He early cultivated his gift of speech by constant practice, vocalizing his thoughts in his walks and speaking like Demosthenes into the air. He has been a preacher for more than fifty-three years, and still bears the marks of youthful enthusiasm. He affects the New Testament in his choice of texts, has special preference for Paul, and is especially facile in biographical sermons. He cites copiously a great variety of authors, storing material judiciously, and by thus utilizing his resources insures pertinence and freshness and vivacity to his discourses. He works slowly, writes with care, arranges his material in lucid order, but takes only an abstract into the pulpit and never memorizes. His style has been criticised as rough and uncomely. But his power as a pulpit and platform

orator and his notable success in carrying the case in hand with his audience, testifies abundantly to his incontestable forcefulness.

iv. English Congregationalism furnishes an interesting and valuable field for the student of modern preaching. Among the free churches it stands preëminent as an intellectual, religious, moral, and, after a sort, political force in the life of the middle classes. Respect for an intelligent piety and for the knowledge and discipline that are tributary to it, responsiveness to new light, whether from science or revelation, allegiance to ecclesiastical and civil liberty, zeal for civic righteousness, and devotion to a Christianity that adjusts itself to all the practical needs of men, combined with evangelistic and missionary ardor, have always been and still are preëminently characteristic of this in many respects most Puritan of English Puritan communions. In these respects it is in general harmony with the Congregationalism of the United States. But it must be acknowledged that one finds in it a somewhat more earnest religious and evangelical tone and a somewhat larger and more aggressive ecclesiastical enterprise. In his biographical sketch of Dr. Binney, Dr. Allon, speaking of the nonconformist minister, notes the fact "that he must win his way and sustain his services by dint of sheer intellectual and moral force," which was eminently true of Dr. Binney, and that "his very position as a nonconformist excludes adventitious acts of official sanction and occasion."[1] In so far as the sphere of his activity lies among the more intelligent and prosperous nonconformist communities, what Dr. Allon affirms, is especially true of the Congregational preacher. It is to be noted also that training in the sphere of life, as distinguished from that of the schools, conditions a greater practical effectiveness than is realized by the confessedly better academically educated Anglican preacher. It was Dr. Dale's opinion,

[1] Binney's "Sermons," 2d series, 14.

rather vigorously expressed, that the intellectual life of nonconformists had been impoverished by their "exclusion from the Universities and from all participation in the governing and teaching of the best schools of the country," and he even ventured the assertion that they "had been brought to undervalue and to disparage the learning that had been the pride of their forefathers."[1] He also lamented the decline of doctrinal preaching in the Congregational churches. It was his belief that the religious life of the members of these churches "suffers in depth and force," because they were "unwilling to do anything for the maintenance of that religious life that requires the use of the understanding."[2] It seemed to him that "the vagueness of thought which prevails among intelligent people is a serious injury to the vigor of their religious life."[3] That he sought to counteract this defect in his own preaching is evident, for he was perhaps in his day the most robust theological thinker and the most distinctively doctrinal preacher of English nonconformity. He expressed very positively the opinion that it must ever be the special mission of Congregationalism to further the interests of an intelligent piety and to meet the needs of the more intellectual class in nonconforming communities. He was apparently willing that other communions should devote themselves to the religious interests of the less intelligent and educated classes, for which, as he believed, they were better fitted.[4] The same conception of the mission of American Congregationalism has not infrequently been expressed, and there is some measure of justification for it. But the one-sidedness of the estimate and the forgetfulness of the unblessed classes involved in it is a discredit to the catholicity of its Christianity and a dishonor to the comprehensiveness of its mission. Dr. Dale was somewhat severely criticised, and perhaps

[1] "Dale's Life," 284. [2] *Ibid.*, 661. [3] *Ibid.*, 670. [4] *Ibid.*, 613–614.

on the whole with a measure of justice, for this expression of opinion, and he needs to be interpreted generously. The Congregational churches of England have doubtless in many ways manifested a new sense of devotion to the unblessed classes, which is greatly to their credit, but one may venture to question whether on the whole there has been any serious loss in the intellectual fibre of their preaching, although confessedly it may have undergone a very decided modification. The American preacher does not discover in the best type of English Congregational preaching any serious loss of intellectual life. But he does discover a better combination of intellectual and spiritual elements than he finds in the preaching of American Congregationalism. There has doubtless been in both English and American Congregationalism a modification in the estimate of the importance and value of the distinctively intellectual aspect of religion. But this does not necessarily involve a deterioration in the intellectual fibre of the preacher. It is, in fact, a decided gain. At any rate, as illustrated by the most prominent representatives of the modern English Congregational pulpit, by such men, for example, as Dr. Fairbairn of Mansfield College, who in his philosophic grip of truth and in the rhetorical forcefulness and attractiveness of his presentation is not less skilful as preacher than as teacher, or Dr. Guinness Rogers, Dale's lifelong friend, comrade in the campaign against the establishment, colleague and successor in the editorship of the *Congregationalist*, whose intellectual insight, balance of judgment, and excellence of literary form are equally manifest in the written and spoken word, or Dr. Joseph Parker, most brilliant of rhetoricians, who, in preaching, has restored the homily to a place of dignity and power and by his genius has made attractive Biblical truth to popular audiences in the heart of the great metropolis, or Principal Reynolds of Chesunt

College, whose volume of meditations, "Light and Peace," in "Preachers of the Age," illustrates the skill of the nonconformist teacher in presenting the truth from the pulpit, to educated young men, — as illustrated by such and by many others who belong to their generation no such lack is evident and no inferiority to the preaching of the Congregational churches of the United States is apparent. In its combination of mental, spiritual, emotional, literary, ethical, and evangelistic elements it may be questioned whether on the whole it has not the advantage. And there are those of a younger generation who are illustrating the modern Puritanism of English Congregationalism, and in whom we find that combination, in good measure and judicious form, of the conservative and progressive spirit, that respect for good learning, sound culture, substantial, intelligent, religious character, devout piety, practical philanthropy, that literary freshness, and fineness of touch, that unelaborate suggestiveness, that combination of the reflective, the philosophical, and the practical, that pithy directness and unconventionality, that freedom from external and artificial rhetorical and homiletic restraints associated with devotion to evangelical truth and culture of evangelistic fervor, — which belong to the best type of English public speech, and which are securing for Congregationalism an increasingly commanding influence among the English churches.

But these are three men who, in a special way, mark the initiative in important doctrinal, liturgical, practical, and homiletic changes in modern English Congregationalism. They engrafted upon the objective elements of Puritan theology those subjective qualities that are the special possession of our time and which forced a break with Calvinism. They and their successors have defended Christianity with new weapons. They have greatly enriched the worship of their churches. Under a new literary impulse they have changed the form of their

message and they have carried their religion far out into the sphere of practical life. They illustrate the value of the long pastorate, which is more common in English than in American Congregationalism. And we note in them not only the staying quality of English Congregational preachers, and in their churches the solidity, sobriety, and conservative habit of the English Congregational laity, but we see the strength of influence that is possible for the long pastorate not only in the local community, but in the whole body of churches, and in so far they are a rebuke to the restlessness and superficiality of American church life.

Dr. Thomas Binney, for forty years pastor of King's Weigh-House Chapel, London, was in some large sense the father of modern English Congregationalism. He was universally recognized as "a great personality," and it is conceded not only that he "helped more than any other man to modify the traditional methods and style of preaching among nonconformists," but that "he represented a movement, a departure from the tenets of conventional orthodoxy."[1] In early years, Dale was a great admirer of him and, like many another, caught from him a new inspiration. He calls Binney "magnificent," which suggests a certain stateliness, dignity, and strength, not, however, disassociated with naturalness and spontaneous force. But at the same time he hits upon one of his defects, "There is no dependence to be placed upon him." With rhetorical exaggeration this suggests the inequality of his preaching. He was not always at his best. He needed a great occasion. This unreliableness was due, according to Dr. Allon, to lack of early intellectual training.[2] He was a man of extraordinary native intellectual force, and not without distinct æsthetic gifts, which in an independent way were assiduously

[1] "Dale's Life," 49–50.
[2] "King's Weigh-House Chapel Sermons," 2d series, xvi.

cultivated. But he was a so-called self-made man, and disclosed the lack of well-based and firmly established intellectual habits. Yet, trained in the sphere of common sense and common life, diligent in his devotion to what was native to him and to what he regarded as most profitable, he attained to a greater forcefulness and to greater influence than most men who have won the graces of academic culture. He was a strong thinker, at home in theological questions, a man of no ordinary literary culture, of high liturgical ideals, and of oratorical power. One suspects that the two series of King's Weigh-House Chapel Sermons do not in the reading adequately disclose his power as a preacher. Some of the qualities that have been ascribed to him do not appear here at least obtrusively. One recognizes an English solidity of thought and a stateliness of movement that indicate the careful thinker and the serious-minded teacher. But the subjects discussed are approached with undue deliberation, and the development is overelaborate for the tastes of our time, and in the length of the sermon he follows the traditions of an earlier day. The diction is elevated and dignified. The sentences are long and involved, abounding in qualifying clauses for the purpose of clear and careful discrimination, and consequently there is a lack of vivacity and rapidity of movement. But the intellectual strength of the preacher, his sturdy moral earnestness, his pastoral sympathy, his evangelical ardor, with an occasional imaginative touch and the suggestion of patient literary culture, one will not fail to detect. The discourses are largely textual, and their clearness of outline is furthered not only by the prevalence of textual topics, but by their preannouncement and restatement in process. In true Puritan fashion he grapples with large and important subjects and discusses them with Puritan amplitude. Massive thought, breadth of treatment, and stately diction are the notes of power.

Dr. Henry Allon, for many years pastor of Union Chapel, Islington, shared with Binney and Dale their respect for the intellectual elements in religion and for doctrinal Christianity. But with them he too laid chief accent upon the moral aspects of Christian truth and was an antagonist of the Calvinism of earlier Congregationalism. With him, as with them all, the teachings of Christianity are ethical and the end of doctrine is life. Christianity appeals to what is ethically and ideally best in man, and because it finds his best it has stood and will stand. No religion can rest upon a basis of mere external authority. Acceptance of it on such a basis no more makes a man religious than acceptance of the binomial theorem on the authority of Sir Isaac Newton makes a man a mathematician.[1] His estimate of the reality of sin and its relation to the moral government of God, which, with all the preachers of his school, holds a prominent place in his theological thought, conditioned definitely his conception of redemption, which undertook to harmonize the objective and subjective factors. He was less distinctively than Dale a doctrinal preacher, dealing more exclusively with the practical aspects of truth. But his statements of the great verities of doctrinal Christianity are clear and strong and somewhat elaborate, and while he may sometimes seem to read too much into his subject, and to find more in historic facts than he is justified in doing, he is nevertheless a valuable apologist. He was a man of finer and more liberal culture than Binney and one finds in him a somewhat more refined and gentle spirit than in Dale, and in æsthetic endowment he was the superior of them both. He was a man of eminent liturgical spirit and culture, an advocate of liturgical enrichment for the Congregational churches, and contributed much in this behalf. He had an expert knowledge of some

[1] See "Lectures delivered under the Auspices of the Christian Evidence Society," 1872–1873.

branches of liturgics and believed more fully than most of his contemporaries in the retention of some permanent forms in Congregational worship. His significance in theology and literature secured for him, with Principal Reynolds, the joint editorship of the *British Quarterly*. The "Vision of God and other Sermons" contains some of his occasional discourses, and they are characterized by something the same elaborateness and fulness of treatment, the same sound and well-balanced, practical judgment, and the same exceptional clearness of outline that we find in the discourses of other men of his school. But the style is more distinctively illustrative, and the diction, although characterized by certain questionable peculiarities in the use of adjectives, is on the whole more chaste and more vivacious.

Dr. R. W. Dale of Birmingham was in his generation perhaps the most robust, forceful, and influential personality connected with the ministry of the nonconforming churches. He was a man of extraordinary intellectual endowments and of eager intellectual activities, with a passion for literary expression early developed and cultivated, which expressed itself in the publication of a book at the age of sixteen. In theology, for which he had a marked aptitude, he was responsive, not only to the Puritan divines of a past age, but to the best thinkers of his own day. The influence of Binney in shaping his conception of the preacher's work is evident, and it is possible that his admiration for Edmund Burke may have been tributary to the awakening within him of the oratorical impulse, and to the shaping of its expression. In the stateliness of his style, of which he became definitely conscious, it is possible that one may detect the object of his early admiration. Like so many of the nonconformist preachers, he began to preach at an early age, according to his native bent, attacking big subjects and at first along Calvinistic lines. At the outset, he was rather a free lance in his

intellectual methods, following his native instincts and impulses, but later on he subjected himself rigidly to the curriculum of the theological college, and his aspiration for close and rigid intellectual training uttered itself in his complaint that he had never fully attained to "a despotic control over all the intellectual faculties." In his examination for the master's degree at London University, he was first in philosophy and already manifested his speculative bent, and that somewhat dogmatic and polemical temper by which after a sort he was always characterized. He was introduced to public life in a stormy period. Questions theological, ecclesiastical, political, and social, that stirred all the churches of England, had been set in discussion by the liberalism and the reactionary Oxford movement of the day. Theological opinions were already in process of modification, and Dale was early regarded as a little shaky in his beliefs and created no little stir, as the colleague of the devout John Angell James, by an attack on some of the tenets of Calvinism, such as the atonement, future punishment, and human depravity. Strong in ethical qualities and of an evangelistic mind, it was still in a sort the intellectual aspect of religion that solicited his special interest. "Doctrinal preaching," he says, "is the kind of preaching which I must approve, which is most natural to me, for which I am conscious I have the greatest adaption."[1] "His grasp of principles," says his biographer, "was firm, his vision clear, and he always struck at the centre."[2] This is the equipment of the genuine dogmatician. Whatever the influences that reached him, whether the questionings of the early catechetical class, or the fellowship of robust minds, or the theological problems that were in public agitation, or the larger problems of life with which he was brought into intellectual commerce, all were tributary to his bent, and he became the most accomplished doctrinal

[1] "Life," 123. [2] *Ibid.*, 126.

and apologetic preacher of his day in the free churches. It will be in vain that we look for another who was like him or his equal in this line among the Congregational preachers of his period on either side of the ocean. Professor Park of Andover, the most masterful doctrinal preacher of an earlier period, was nearest his measure, but different in type. Dr. George A. Gordon of Boston in our own day is perhaps nearest to him in readiness and clearness of vision, and in breadth and strength of intellectual grasp, although in no such sort a doctrinal or apologetic preacher. The subjects which he chose for discussion were from the first by preference of a theological character. In his expository preaching, of which in his own way he was a master, as illustrated by the Lectures on the Ephesian letter, he always grappled with the main thoughts and turned the doctrinal matter into relation with questions critical, scientific, educational, philosophical, and theological that were in agitation about him. All the works on religious subjects published by him, which, for so busy a man, are very numerous, bear the same general mark of a theological mind. He was a supernaturalist of high degree, holding, as some would say, somewhat extreme views. The reality of "the living Christ," which in the early part of his ministry came to him as a new revelation, affected his entire ministerial life. His conception of sin, a product of his Puritan culture, and his sense of it, a product of his own personal experience under the influence of such culture, took connection with his exalted conception of the holy and righteous kingship of God and the integrity of his moral government, and conditioned his conception of the atonement, which, with the incarnation, he held to be the central fact and truth of Christianity, and which was a modified form of the governmental theory, embracing the objective factor, which is the Puritan contribution, and the subjective factor, which allies itself with the conception of Christ's identification, in His holy

person, with redeemed humanity, — and is in line with the so-called moral influence theory. "If I had to write the lectures (on the atonement) again," he says, "I should endeavor to insist more earnestly on the necessity of reaching the objective aspect of the death of Christ through the subjective, *i.e.* the view that the blood of Christ avails objectively for the remission of sin, because of that mystical relation between Christ and Humanity which is realized in the church." [1]

But Dr. Dale was also an ethical preacher of the highest order. It is true that in the estimate of some he "ranked higher as a teacher than as a preacher of the truth," and in the latter years of life he reproached himself because he had supreme interest in the truth and too little love for men. He recognized the "stateliness" of his style and his lack of pathos, and his undervaluation of those popular rhetorical qualities that are essential to persuasiveness. He lamented this as limiting the ethical forcefulness of his message. It is true that he was preëminent as a pulpit teacher. He was eminently successful as a lecturer upon Homiletics and English Literature at his own theological college, and was urged, upon the ground of his exceptional fitness, to take the chair of Dogmatics in another college. But this self-reproach was an exaggeration of his moral sensitiveness. His bent was distinctly ethical. It is perfectly evident that with him doctrine was not an end but an instrument. He turned all his teaching toward practical issues, and he is a notable exemplification of the fact that a fundamental theological thinker, who is profoundly interested and thoroughly versed in his science, may be, in his handling of theological questions, one of the most practical of men. In his student days he was impressed and influenced by the strong ethical preaching to which he listened in Birmingham, and when he entered upon his own ministry he threw himself at once into the advocacy

[1] "Life," 490–492.

of the moral aspects of religious truth. He championed the cause of the North in the War for the American Union as soon as he saw that it involved the abolition of slavery. He fought a manly fight for a free church in England. His modifications in theology were along ethical lines. With him the ethical aspect of the atonement was supreme. He rejected Calvinism largely because it degraded man. "Our conception of man, which is involved in our conception of God, lies at the root of Christian morals and determines the Christian ideal of the social order."[1] His thinking upon the eschatological problem was dominated by ethical considerations. His entire theology had a missionary quality and missionary preaching was to him a special pleasure, in seeking his contributions to which the free churches seemed to vie with each other. "Social Science and the Christian Faith," which he regarded as his best sermon, will repay careful study from the ethical point of view. His advice, to which he was himself true, that every preacher should wait a year before making public any change in his theological views, illustrates his English caution, balance, and regard for practical results. Dr. Dale is widely known for the great ability and courage with which he grappled with the political questions of his day. But he was in no objectionable sense a political preacher. He was a strong believer in and advocate of the use by the church and ministry of the indirect method of applying Christianity to the problems of society. It was only on this basis that he entered the political arena. In his political campaigns he did not claim to represent the Christian church as an organized public institution. It was on the ground that the so-called "Forward Movement" for the federation of the free churches involved, in his opinion, an abandonment of the indirect for the direct method of dealing with public questions that he

[1] "Fellowship with Christ," Sermon VI; "Social Science and the Christian Faith," 162.

refused to support it, and he found in the bad results, as he regarded them, of the direct method during the period of the English Commonwealth an argument against the new movement.

Nor could Dr. Dale, with his Puritan antecedents and culture, and his sympathetic association in the pastorate with men like John Angell James, fail to be an evangelistic preacher. In fact it was his early aspiration to live among the unblessed classes and to devote his life evangelistically to their service. He coöperated enthusiastically with Mr. Moody in his evangelistic campaign in Birmingham in 1870 and manfully defended him against the detractions of the Anglican clergy. He might sometimes be found in the Gospel wagon preaching Englishwise in the open air. But whatever may have been his zeal for this type of preaching and his measurable success in it, it is evident that there were certain limitations in his power of persuasion, and that he did not regard himself as especially fitted for it. A passage in the chapter on "Evangelistic Preaching" in the Yale Lectures, a volume which ranks among the four or five best in this series of lectures, is probably autobiographical. He assumes that not every preacher has the evangelistic gift, and that the successful evangelist is a special gift from God. But Mr. James's declaration, upon his reception of Dale as his colleague, that "a passion for preaching was a sure pledge of success" was prophetic of his future career as a preacher, and among his successes was that of winning men to Christ.

Dr. Dale had a most profound, serious, and comprehensive estimate of the function of the Christian preacher. In this he was a true son of the Puritans. It was to him an "awful," but a glorious privilege to preach, and the Gospel he proclaimed was the power of God. The elements of his success as a preacher are not far to seek. The strong quality of the truth presented, its fitness to the religious needs of men, the clear and master-

ful unfolding of his subject, his grasp of its moral bearings, his intellectual, ethical, and emotional earnestness, his strength of will and sincerity of purpose, his sagacity in applying the truth, his courage tempered by deliberateness, caution, considerateness, and a conservatism that "dislikes new ventures," his robust physical personality, that admirably supported the mental and moral qualities of the man, and a method of careful preparation that combined the thoroughness of the trained and matured thinker with the spontaneity and extemporaneousness of the natural orator — these are some of the qualities that reveal themselves in this most manly of modern English nonconformist preachers.

The new generation of Congregational preachers is represented by a considerable number of very attractive men who disclose a somewhat marked modification in the philosophic and theologic quality of their thinking and not less in their rhetorical and homiletic method. They show the results of careful literary culture and of familiarity with the poetic aspects of religion and of life.

The Rev. Mr. Meyers and the Rev. G. Campbell Morgan are well known in the United States in connection with various evangelistic efforts and have shown themselves to be masters of a type of evangelistic preaching which, like that of the best Scottish preachers of our day, among whom may be numbered Professor George Adam Smith and the late Professor Drummond, is adapted to the needs of the more thoughtful, educated, and cultivated classes. The Rev. C. Sylvester Horne, pastor of the Whitefield Church at Tottenham Road, is known in several volumes of sermons, has appeared in literature in a work entitled "The Modern Heretic," and in theology in a "Popular History of the Free Churches," and is recognized as one of the most gifted of the younger preachers, who illustrates the modern Puritan spirit. The Rev. Mr. Jowett, Dale's successor at Birmingham, exhibits in an eminent degree

that almost indefinable spiritual quality which characterizes so many of the Congregational preachers of the new generation. The Rev. Dr. Robert F. Horton, in a most attractive and impressive manner, and more fully than most of his contemporaries, exhibits the more distinctively subjective and mystical aspects of English Puritan Congregationalism. The Rev. Dr. Forsyth, principal of Hackney College, discloses a certain intellectual brilliancy and incisiveness comparable in a sort with corresponding qualities in Principal Fairbairn, whose pupil he was, and a strongly subjective tendency involving a certain vagueness that reminds us of Ritschl, of whom he was a student at Göttingen, qualities all of which did not escape the appreciative or critical notice of Dr. Dale, the patron and friend of all gifted men who came after him. Something of the Ritschlian spirit and method we discern in an essay on "Revelation and the Person of Christ" in "Faith and Criticism," a volume of essays contributed by Congregational clergymen, among them Dr. Horton. The teaching is that revelation is not of truth but of person, not of thought but of purpose, not to rectify human ignorance but to meet human helplessness. Revelation is not through nature but through Christ. Such revelation is all faith needs and for faith it is final, for it is a redemptive revelation. It is in the experience of redemption that we attain to certainty, and for our Christian knowledge we are not at all dependent on metaphysics. The atonement and the resurrection are realities for the church, and they are not so much the ground as the product of Christian faith. The person of Christ can be understood only by his work and the significance and value of his work are not in what it does for God but in what it does for man. "It is Christ's work to restore and to transfer to us the experience of God's holy love in conditions of sin."

The Congregationalists of England are indebted to Scotland or to Scottish ancestry for Horne and Forsyth

and Dawson of Highbury Quadrant Congregational church, and Campbell, formerly of Brighton, now Parker's successor at City Temple, London, bears also the marks of a Scottish heritage.

Dr. W. J. Dawson, whose published sermons illustrate the accomplishments of a thoughtful, suggestive, and cultivated preacher and his aptitude for the higher forms of pastoral ministration of the truth, has also attested, in his highly valuable service in the churches of the United States, the possibilities of such a preacher for the higher forms of evangelism.

Dr. Dawson shows the results of his modern humanistic culture. His catholicity and broad-mindedness are disclosed in such sermons as "The Reproach of Christ" and "The Character of the Centurion."[1] His Christian conceptions of God and of man and his eschatological hopefulness are seen in "The Survival of Memory" and "Dives in Hades."[2] Like most of the younger school of English Congregational preachers, he shows the influence of modern critical and theological questions and a reasonable method of dealing with them. He belongs to the best type of modern pastoral evangelists, dealing prevailingly with an ethical type of evangelistic subject-matter and laying emphasis upon things that are morally real. The motives with which he deals are various and are such as appeal to the modern man. He pitches upon interesting subjects, to which are given felicitous titles, like "The Immortality of Capacity," "Untempered Judgments," "The Fear of Self," "The Silence of God," from which views that are somewhat novel and thoughts that are eminently suggestive are deduced. "The Fear of Self" is a very searching sermon. He is a skilful interpreter of the experiences of the soul, and "The Dying Thief" is an excellent study in ethical psychology. The topics which he

[1] "The Reproach of Christ and other Sermons." Sermons I and VI.
[2] Sermons VIII and IX.

chooses in his discussion are generally practical aspects of the subject in hand, and he illustrates the value of the applicatory method in the development of his theme as well as in the lessons of the inferential conclusion. He is an admirable analyst of character, and the discourses that touch upon historic personalities or upon phases of their lives are among the best of their kind. The preacher's literary culture, in which he stands preëminent, is seen not only in the copiousness of his literary citation, but in the character of his literary style, which is notable for the expository quality of clearness, the ethical quality of forcefulness, and not infrequently the æsthetic quality of a poetic gracefulness.

The Rev. Reginald J. Campbell also has been heard with pleasure in American pulpits. To the English custom, which might well be introduced more fully into the United States, of giving to contemporaries a sketch of the lives of notable men, we are indebted for a fuller knowledge of his personality and his life. A Scotch Presbyterian, who became an Anglican and subsequently accepted Congregationalism as furnishing the most attractive ideal of the apostolic church, and the most potent influence in developing individual character and life, is an unusual ecclesiastical phenomenon. But in the case of Mr. Campbell it is a most attractive and influential product. An Oxford graduate and a pupil of Dr. Fairbairn's at Mansfield College, he has behind him ample scholarship in history, philosophy, Bibliology, and dogmatics. A volume entitled "A Faith for to-day, Suggestions toward a System of Christian Belief," consisting of sermons preached during his Brighton pastorate, illustrates his power of lucid and cogent statement in the discussion of some of the most important problems of religion. "The Choice of the Highest," discourses of a more distinctively ethical character, still further and perhaps more adequately illustrates his unique power as a preacher. These sermons are marked by

a notable simplicity, thoughtfulness, and analytic skill. They are eminently pastoral in quality and in their method are direct, practical, and experimental. In a somewhat distinct and specific sense, he is a pastoral preacher. It is in the sense, namely, that in and through his preaching he discloses that indefinable gift of personality that enables him to reveal his pastoral insight and spirit. It is thus that he manifests the gifts of the "father confessor" by which he is able to win confidence and to lead especially the youth of his congregation to open their hearts and lives to him. He deals with conditions as he actually finds them in his congregation or as he shrewdly conjectures them, and he utters himself with a directness and plainness of speech that are home thrusting and searching. The themes with which he deals are of the most simple, fundamental, and practical character, touching the real everyday needs of men. With the aims and motives of the people before him he deals in a very penetrating manner. His discussions are not shaped after the most approved homiletic methods, and yet they have the easy, graceful movement of the unfolding process and are continuously attractive in the expectancy they awaken. There is a distinctive quality about them that reminds us in some aspects of the preaching of Professor George Adam Smith. In its colloquial homeliness and straightforwardness his style is doubtless attractive to the average business man of our day, but suggests perhaps too strong a reaction against the dignified and stately style of other days. In a somewhat naïve manner he takes his congregation into his confidence, but one sometimes questions whether the confidential is not overworked. The personal factor in preaching is, of course, very important. People are interested in what the preacher discloses to them from the stores of his own experience, especially if these experiences have practical touching points with their own lives. But one may be overcommunicative about one's self, about what one wishes

or means, what one said, heard, and saw. One may be too "autobiographical," to use Phillips Brooks' term. And yet, if Mr. Campbell thinks himself out and down to the common life of his hearers, it is equally true that he abundantly realizes in his own case what he declares to be a general truth, viz. that "under the spiritual stimulus of preaching people can be made to think up to the mental level of the man who is speaking to them."

v. In the preaching of the so-called liberal churches, we find more fully the disintegrations of the modern critical spirit than in any other communion, if we except the extreme left wing of broad Anglicanism, in which we find the counterpart of the liberalism of the free churches in its abandonment of supernatural Christianity and in its allegiance to a theistic form of so-called natural religion. In the United States liberal influences are seemingly more widely diffused among the different denominations than they are in England, and it is probable that in all the churches of this country heavier inroads have been made upon what is known as the "evangelical faith." But it must be confessed that as compared with the liberalism of the United States, that of England, as represented by its preachers of highest rank, who share the graces of the best English religious and literary culture, seems to have felt more fully the softening influence of religious feeling and sentiment, and in its best estate is more spiritual in its tone. No one could listen to the preaching of Dr. Martineau without feeling this spiritual elevation of tone. English liberalism has certainly abandoned the "water-logged rationalism" of a past age. It is agnostic with respect to the competence of the speculative reason to deal successfully with the problems of religion, and trusts itself more fully to the moral and spiritual intuitions. This is doubtless true of the liberalism of the United States, but it seems more distinctively true of English liberalism. And yet, even in cases in which it has not wholly aban-

doned supernaturalism, its tendency is to reduce it to a minimum. It finds the seat of authority for religion strictly within the subjective realm. It undervalues the significance and worth of traditional religion, underestimates the importance of holding the continuity of religious thought, fails to attach sufficient value to the testimony of the common Christian consciousness, and is intolerant of the trammels of creeds, even if it does not minimize their expressive value in interpreting the truth. It lays supreme emphasis upon the ethical elements in Christianity, and would interpret all religion in the light of modern scientific and philosophic thought. And just here is the great value of the preaching of English liberalism in our day. It is most vigorous and manly in its application of the moral claims of Christianity. It is worthy of all admiration for its loyalty to personal, religious, political, and ecclesiastical freedom, and to industrial, commercial, and civic integrity — as indeed, let it be freely and thankfully confessed, is the preaching of the liberal churches of the United States. Moreover, in its homiletic methods it cultivates in a high degree the graces of literary form, and affects the simple, unelaborate, but thoughtful type of discourse. In its ethical and literary quality its influence upon the preaching of nonconformists in general has been positive and most salutary, as has that of American Unitarianism upon the preaching of the United States. It is therefore all the more to be regretted that its break with historic Christianity has been so general and so decisive.

Dr. James Martineau, it will be universally conceded, was the most thoughtful, accomplished, and, to the cultivated classes, the most attractive and acceptable preacher connected with the liberal school of the free churches. If one might venture to suggest one's own personal impressions, it may be claimed that with respect to weight of thought, skill in analysis, elevation of ideal, dignity of tone,

and perfection of literary form there was no preaching in London that surpassed it during the years of Dr. Martineau's prime. He had certain touching points with many schools of religious thought, and in his masterful championship of theism and of a spiritual faith, as against modern materialism and agnosticism, he was elevated above all partisan lines and was gratefully acknowledged by all classes in the English churches as their representative and the defender of their cause. But in his general point of view, and in his general spirit and attitude with respect to theological problems, he belonged to the liberal school, and it is a high honor to that school to be able to claim as its own an advocate of the religion of the spirit who had no superior in his day. "Hours of Thought on Sacred Things," sermons published at the close of his career as a pastoral preacher, deserve more than the cursory notice which the limits of the present discussion necessitate. These discourses confirm the impression, which one may already have anticipated, that Dr. Martineau was not for the average preacher a model. They suggest also that he doubtless often soared above the most profitable apprehension at least of the average congregation. But to the congregations that hung upon his lips, composed of the most intelligent and cultivated men and women of London, they are as honey for sweetness and as water for refreshment and in fact no most uninstructed but intelligent hearer would ever fail to be impressed by the thoughtfulness, the dignity, and the gracefulness of these discourses.

There is very little in them that one challenges or questions, or from which one would wish to dissent. There is no partisan advocacy here and there are no partisan themes. They deal with truths that find general acceptance with intelligent Christian minds. The preacher's specific theological point of view only here and there appears. We are in contact with a grave, serious mind that is intent

upon setting forth in a positive manner the weighty realities of religion. The themes discussed are naturally suggested by the Scripture texts, and come by no remote process of deduction. The object is to make the truth presented manifest by the processes of analysis. They deal with the poetic aspects of religion, and they show that this poetic element, so far from being the unreal or the remotely ideal, is, in fact, the substantial, the real, the rational element. The sermon entitled "Religion in Parable" is a most admirable discussion of the value of the parabolic method of presenting the truths of religion for faith, for worship, and for life. Religion deals with an illimitable ideal, for it touches the infinitude of God and the infinitude that is in man, who is in the likeness of God. "There is no prose religion." Everywhere it is this poetic aspect that emerges, and it is the preacher's aim to justify it to the intelligence of his hearers, and to vindicate its claims upon their practical life.

The ethical aspect of religion is also prominent. Most of the subjects discussed are of the ethical sort, and even those subjects that are more distinctly spiritual are discussed in their ethical bearings. The distinctively ethical basis of his conception of religion is everywhere apparent. Religion is life guided by conscience, which determines the ends of life. Nothing better, perhaps, in all sermon literature has been said about the moral aspects of faith than is said in the discourse that bears the title "The Moral Quality of Faith." "Our devout beliefs are not built, as we suppose, upon the dry sand of reason, but ride upon the flood of our affections." "Faith is the natural hypothesis of a pious and good heart." The mystical and the ethical equally with the rational element in Dr. Martineau has received full development.

The lyric beauty of the diction is perhaps the most fascinating feature in these discourses. It is a highly metaphorical style, yet hardly in excess, for the preacher's

thought is made the more luminous by it. It carries an aphoristic quality that reminds us of Emerson, but in sententious strength it is superior to the style of Emerson, and there is more that might be quoted and remembered with profit. "Religion is born ere thought begins; it is reborn when thought is consummated and enters into its glory." "It is not till we fall from the platform of our natural trusts that the wheels and pulleys of argument are placed to lift us back again." Terse and pithy sentences like these may be found on every page. There is a lack of variety in the literary style, and with all the attractiveness of its lyric elegance, one feels at times a certain lack of directness of statement, a certain remoteness or roundaboutness that suggests the overelaborateness of elegance. It must be acknowledged, too, that a certain vagueness of conception and remoteness from ordinary thought and experience limit the effectiveness of these discourses. The thought is too exclusively subjective, lingering almost wholly in the realm of analysis, and we miss a robust supernaturalism and the helpfulness of an objective Gospel of Grace. They are not quite human enough. One misses the concrete and personal element in the subjects discussed, and feels a corresponding lack of personal intensity and force in the preacher himself. This lack of the personal element is seen, for example, in the sermon entitled "The Better Part." "The Better Part" is the life regulated from within as distinguished from the life regulated from without. Its relation to the personal Christ is scarcely recognized. Christ is at best only a teacher of this better part. He brings the true philosophy of life, and scarce otherwise does he appear as the "Redeemer" of men, a designation for Christ which nevertheless Dr. Martineau very frequently employs.

The sermons are in essay form, without salient topics, but not without clearness of outline or steady and progressive movement. But one sermon in the volume has a

formal division and enumeration of topics. In both arrangement and expression, as well as quality of thought, they are adapted to the exceptionally intelligent and cultivated audience.

Dr. Stopford A. Brooke, widely known and highly estimated as the biographer of Robertson, and as an authority in literature, is also regarded by some as the most accomplished preacher that has been connected with the Anglican church since Robertson's day. In literary accomplishments, although inferior to Dr. Martineau in elegance of literary style, he is entitled to be classed with him as one of the most gifted men in the Unitarian body, with which, on conscientious grounds, he allied himself in 1880. The volume of sermons published in 1869, while connected with the Anglican church, and which was followed by a second series similar in character, discloses his broad churchmanship, and although giving no indication of that specific form of liberalism that is represented by English Unitarianism, it suggests the affinity between Anglican broad churchmanship and the broadest churchmanship of English nonconformity. But at this time Dr. Brooke had not abandoned supernaturalism, and was the advocate of a positive type of preaching, which should endeavor to "build and not to overthrow." His broad-church, humanistic, and naturalistic tendencies, however, are readily apparent in his conception of the relation of the supernatural to the order of the world. He would not classify all the facts of Christianity as belonging to the order of natural phenomena, but there is a tendency to minimize their supernatural significance and to find for them, as far as possible, a place in the sphere of nature. All divine judgments, for example, come in a strictly natural way, and, without questioning the divinity of Christ, the human aspects of his life are put in the forefront. But he is still a trinitarian and a supernaturalist, accepting the ascension of Christ as being the outcome of his resur-

rection, both of which may be assumed, because involved in his exalted personality. His choice of subjects at this time reminds us of Robertson. The life and character of Christ furnish favorite themes, and Robertson's analytic method of dealing with their phenomena is followed. Christ is set before us as the great moral ideal of all true human life. His complete moral perfection at every stage of his earthly development is fully recognized, and the chief difference between ordinary human development and that of Christ is the moral imperfection of the former at every stage. His doctrinal position is that of temperate broad churchmanship, and it remained such for several years. His conception of the Bible as "inspired with regard to universal principles," and "not inspired with regard to details," is precisely that of Robertson. He is not a believer in external authority but in the intuitions and in the moral and spiritual instincts and he always grapples with fundamental and regulative principles. But inadequate generalizations and the manipulation of facts by the imagination sometimes, although not often, appear, as they do in Robertson's preaching. His interest in scientific questions and familiarity with scientific methods and results, is what we might expect of a man trained in the broad-church school. His sermon on "Creation" indicates his desire to harmonize the facts of revelation with those of science. He has the expository gift, in an eminent degree, always blending the historic and the applicatory methods in dealing with his subjects. There are sermons of the earlier, as of the later period, that reveal an expository gift as distinct as that of Robertson, although his method is greatly inferior. His movement toward Unitarianism was very gradual and apparently at last involved but very little change in his theological beliefs. The chief change was his abandonment of belief in miracles, which he regarded as inconsistent with his continued acceptance of the doctrinal standards of the Angli-

can communion. But the humanistic and naturalistic tendencies already referred to were doubtless a preparation for his transition from the right to the left wing of broad Anglicanism and thence into a still more pronounced type of liberalism.

The ethical note in his preaching from the earliest period is also noteworthy. This is what we might expect from a man who had lived in the school of Robertson, and is in line with his broad-church training in general. This dominance of the ethical impulse may also have furthered the movement away from Anglicanism. A critical vein runs through his discourses. The political and commercial life of his time is especially an object of animadversion. He is especially severe with those who, in their conservatism, are the patrons of the commonplace, and who undervalue and seek to suppress men of genius. One imagines that the story of Robertson's life still lingers in his remembrance. We have fallen upon evil times, times when faith is weak and when men are finding nothing but a dead world. To meet these conditions, he would have a positive, but rational message. We find in him a touch of idealistic romanticism, characteristic of broad-church liberals in general. We find, too, something the same sense of life as consecrated, but the same trust also in Christ as holding the key to the solution of all these mysteries and as the power that makes the consecration of life real and productive. His interest in the poor and unblessed, in social and economic questions, his patriotic love of the nation and his devotion to a national religion, which devotion the Anglican cherishes and the nonconformist discredits, are in line with the humanistic and ethical culture of his broad churchmanship. Dissatisfaction with existing conditions in both political and ecclesiastical life is evident. It was evidently the fuller development of all these tendencies, the increasing grip of the scientific spirit and method, a gradual loosening of his hold upon the super-

natural forces of Christianity, and conscientious scruples about reading his own theological conceptions into the doctrinal standards of the church, that at last brought him into the Unitarian camp. It is the inevitable issue of all honest denial of the supernatural forces in Christianity.

In Dr. Brooke's preaching we find nothing of Robertson's homiletic order. Not only the earlier, but the later sermons, "Christ in Modern Life," "The Old Testament in Modern Life," expository discourses on Old Testament characters, in which modern Biblical criticism is brought into use in his exposition in an altogether reasonable and temperate manner, and "The Gospel of Joy," are all characterized by this same lack of definitely ordered development. We have a succession of coherently related thoughts but no landing places and no boundary marks to indicate the course of the journey. There is no attempt to objectify his subjective processes, to project the points of his analysis into salient outline, and to give the hearer the advantage of it in the organization of the material of the sermon. The literary style is in the main clear, colloquial, and plain, bearing the mark of the objective English mind. It is the expository style whose dominant note is clarity. He has the descriptive gift that handles successfully external scenes and pictures subjective experiences. But the early style lacks the dignity, freedom, grace, and force of Robertson's style. In dealing, however, with the deeper and more soul-moving experiences of life, his diction becomes more elevated and elegant, and in the later sermons the quality of force is more manifest. He has something of Robertson's skill in spiritualizing the phenomena he would interpret, as seen, for example, in his discourse on "Angelic Visitations." His speculative gifts, his high spiritual impulse, and his poetic imagination are manifest. His literary work, not only in its technical and historic aspects but in its application to the interpretation of the religious elements in modern poetry, is of a high order.

Frequent citations attest his knowledge of poetic literature, and we discover also his interest in and familiarity with classical literature. A volume of poems also attests his own poetic gifts.

The style of many of the discourses suggests that he preached extemporaneously, that of others that there is a manuscript behind them. His appeal to his hearers is direct and his practical aim is manifest. He has carried the results of his early devout religious culture into his changed ecclesiastical relations, and its elevated spiritual tone is a positive and valuable contribution to the preaching of English liberalism.

IV

SCOTTISH PREACHING

I.

No part of Great Britain has been so thoroughly educated and, on the whole, so beneficently dominated by the Christian pulpit as Scotland. With respect to its influence upon the character and life of the people, as well as its own intrinsic excellence, it is an exceptionally valuable study. The Scottish preacher has long been a controlling influence in the mental, moral, and religious life of the middle class, and in our own day he is successfully reaching the upper and lower classes as well.

In its generic qualities Scottish preaching is allied with the Puritan preaching of England, and has close affinity with the strongest and most educative type of American preaching. For the American student of modern preaching, therefore, it should have special interest. As in the preaching of all Protestant communions, there have been periods when it has failed to meet the deeper needs of men, when its interpretation of human life has been narrow, when it has ensmalled and impoverished men's conceptions of Christianity and has been tributary to ungracious and ungentle aspects of Christian believing and living. Its earliest representatives were excessively dogmatic in tone and temper, and post-Reformation orthodoxy made an easy conquest of their successors. The polemic method and the schismatic spirit have even in later years made havoc of the churches, and a lifeless naturalism has measurably

impoverished their spiritual life. But it must be acknowledged that the Scottish pulpit has in its own way supported a distinctively educative, if not always a worthily edifying, type of British preaching. It has never failed in solidity of thought, nor in genuine regard for the religious interests of the people as they have been understood. It has never failed to appropriate the fruits of the best literary culture, whenever such culture has been available, as illustrated, *e.g.*, by the preachers of the so-called moderate school, and as illustrated by the preachers of nearly all schools in our day, and therefore it has never lacked in artistic quality whenever questions of artistic form have been permitted to claim their rights. For the Scotchman, like the Frenchman, has an aptitude for rhetorical and oratorical elevation and forcefulness of speech. In all the higher and weightier qualities of public speech it has been greatly superior to the preaching of Ireland and of Wales, and in many respects to that of England, whether in the establishment or in the nonconforming communions.

The Irish pulpit has, on the whole, made no very marked impression upon the outside world, and somehow it has never adequately influenced or educated the Irish people. In so far as it is Protestant, it is affiliated with the Scottish pulpit, and its most gifted representatives are found in the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian communities of the north. The preaching of these communities has been transplanted to the United States and has not been without influence upon the preaching of the American Presbyterian churches. In subject-matter its preaching has been prevailingly doctrinal, in tone evangelically devout, in aim practically religious, in spirit and purpose pastoral and evangelistic, in method Biblical, and it bears the marks of the powerful revivals of religion through which Protestant Ireland has passed. Its preachers have more of that solidity of mind and that sobriety of moral and religious character that belong in general to the Scotch, than of that Celtic fire

which is the inheritance of the Irish people. But the Irish pulpit is prevailingly Roman, and somehow the Roman church, although productive of highly gifted individual preachers of great significance and power, has on the whole failed to develop a type of preaching that has compelling influence as related to the higher intelligence, the deeper religious needs, and the larger moral possibilities of the Irish people. Many unfavorable conditions have doubtless, in various ways, counterworked or withstood the best, when there has been any best, that the Roman clergy might have desired to do for their people. Popular education has been neglected. No branch of knowledge has found here a sphere of wholly independent development. The political, industrial, commercial, and economic conditions of the country have been disorganized, and these barriers, not necessarily fatal, it is true, to the spiritual effectiveness of a genuine Gospel of power, yet fatal to an intelligent, thrifty, and aggressive church life, have never been wholly surmounted, and the type of preaching that prevails in the Irish Roman church, with all its rhetorical brilliancy as illustrated by individual preachers, fails in educative and elevating spiritual power. Eloquence is indeed an Irish gift. In no section of Great Britain, not even in Wales, whose people are in an eminent degree characterized by vivacity of feeling and imagination, do we find so much native and spontaneous eloquence. But it is the platform not the pulpit, the forum and the hustings not the church, politics not religion, that has developed it.

Scotland, like Wales, has developed the gift of public speech in the pulpit, but Ireland has found its sphere in the political arena. There have been no such Irish preachers, Protestant or Roman, as Chalmers and Guthrie,[1] and many others that might be named. But, on the other hand, there have probably been no such Scottish political

[1] See "Representative Modern Preachers," Ch. VIII.

orators as Sheridan and O'Connell. The difference lies not so much in native gifts, although the gifts doubtless vary in type, as in the religious endowment and equipment of the people and in those political, ecclesiastical, educational, intellectual, and social conditions of the two countries, which in the one case have furthered and in the other have retarded the development of oratory in the sphere of religion. Fiery emotion, dramatic passion, pathos, sharp mother wit, poetic diction, and full-toned, sonorous elocution are the marks of typical Irish oratory, and one cannot fail to recognize the great possibilities of the Irish pulpit under changed political, ecclesiastical, educational, and religious conditions. But the history of Scotland, as contrasted with that of Ireland, illustrates the power of an intelligent religion and an intelligent ecclesiasticism, of an intelligent devotion to good learning, of commercial and industrial thrift, and of a genius for the conservation of civic freedom to consecrate and to foster the gifts of pulpit speech; and only a long period of enlightenment and of discipline in civic and ecclesiastical virtues will secure for Ireland a rejuvenated and a reconsecrated pulpit.

The Welsh pulpit has in all ways influenced the ecclesiastical and civic community more effectively than the Irish pulpit, and will well repay the study of any one who is interested in the problems of popular evangelistic preaching. It is especially valuable as illustrating the power of this type of preaching in promoting wide-reaching religious awakenings in the churches, as seen in the late revival movement. The Welsh and Irish, alike in their emotional and imaginative gifts, are of a kindred oratorical temperament. It may be more correct to say that the Welsh are natural preachers and the Irish natural orators. For in Wales, as in Scotland, oratory has developed in the pulpit and assumes a form that is distinctively appropriate to the work of preaching. The Welsh have not only the impulse for rhetorical ex-

pression, or that native facility of speech which characterizes an imaginative and emotional people, and a language that is said to be singularly adapted to imaginative and emotional effects, but they have the didactic and ethical impulse to interpret and enforce the truth as they sense and see it. This gift for exposition and advocacy seems to have become a dexterous habit which the humblest shares measurably with the most gifted preacher. The Welsh people have developed no independent culture. Nor have they been influenced to any considerable extent by the higher forms of culture existent among other peoples, as the Scotch, for example, have been in the domain of science and in the domains of philosophy and theology. There is no science — philosophy, theology, or literature — that bears their mark, nor has it been transplanted and domesticated from other sources to a very large extent. The provision for popular education has been meagre, and the Welsh have never yet reached the measure of intelligence, learning, and culture that have been found in Scotland for many generations. But within a relatively short time, particularly within the last century, they have attained to a worthy Christian civilization, and they illustrate the power of a genuine evangelical type of Christianity to elevate and ennoble a people. It was the Methodist revival of England that found here a responsive and fruitful soil and that gave us modern Wales. The Welsh preachers produced by this great movement were simple evangelical Biblical preachers, without the learning of the schools, but in their practical exposition and direct evangelistic enforcement of religious truth they were surprisingly effective with their own people, and the Welsh preacher of to-day, better educated, bears the common homiletic mark of his countrymen and still attests the power of that great movement. In his preaching he is practical rather than speculative, emotional rather than intellectual, imaginative rather than dialectical, capable, as witness such

preachers as Christmas Evans, of great dramatic intensity. Nowhere in Great Britain do we find so complete a development of the evangelistic and revival interest, and of the textual and expository method, and nowhere such insistence upon an evangelical type of piety and upon a spiritually effective type of preaching. Moreover, it must be conceded that Welsh preaching has been strongly tributary, not only to the religious life of the people but to a certain sort of religious intelligence. For the Protestant tradition of a religion that is to be taught prevails. To the advancement of theological knowledge or to the largest type of Christian intelligence it has not contributed materially. But even in this a change has come, and in our day there is no more intelligent or attractive class of preachers than those Welshmen who have secured the best culture of the schools of Great Britain and who are found in different communions of the United Kingdom and of the United States.

The English pulpit, particularly in the broad-church section of the establishment and in some of the free churches, may surpass the Scottish pulpit in a larger and more liberal appropriation of what is called modern culture, and some might say in a broader apprehension and interpretation of Christianity, and it may have taken its Christianity farther out into the various spheres of human life, adjusting itself more fully and freely to the secular realm. In its cosmopolitan quality and its contempt of provincialism it may carry more distinctively the modern note. But it will be almost universally conceded that on the whole the Scottish pulpit is more heavily weighted intellectually, is more carefully educative, and not the less practically efficient in the production of those results towards which it aims. In fact the mental aspects of religion have in Scotland received fuller recognition than in any other part of Great Britain. The typical Scottish preacher is a man of strong intellectual fibre, of clear in-

tellectual discrimination, with a philosophic habit of mind, of sturdy practical sense not the less, of religious devoutness, of proverbial tenacity of will, and is not at all deficient in those gifts of feeling and imagination that secure carrying power for his message. And these are the gifts that fit him supremely for the work of the pulpit. The history and traditions of Scotland have favored the development of these preaching gifts. It was a strong type of Protestantism that at the first took hold of the Scottish people, and this, with whatever modifications, has substantially held its own against all extremes of disintegrating influence. Political discontents have not dissipated the energies of the people. Science, philosophy, theology, literature, and public education have found here a fruitful soil. English influences have been freely welcomed, but its civilization has flourished in relative independence of England, and, since the beginning of the last century especially, Scotland herself has made many notable contributions to English civilization and in general to human progress. The Scottish scientists, who have been more responsive to French influences, and Scottish philosophers, who have been more responsive to German influences, even than Englishmen themselves, and especially men of letters like Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Carlyle and the literary circle of Edinburgh, and not the less many of Scotland's most distinguished preachers, who have been trained wholly in her schools, belong equally to England. Of philosophic thinkers especially, Scotland has been the home, and Scottish philosophy, whether in the form of the older realism, or of the modern idealism, has colored and is coloring the theology and the preaching of the church. It has always been difficult for Scottish theologians and preachers to conceive of Christianity as other than a doctrinal religion, and for many generations the teachings of Calvin have been held as containing the heart of it. With such a conception of Christianity the Scottish preacher

must always be strong in the body of his thought. He must have a solid basis for his work, and will always develop the strong points of his subjects. He believes devoutly in the high functions of the preacher, in his possibilities of commanding influence and is not slow to assert his ministerial prerogatives. He respects the theology of his church, respects himself as a religious teacher, cherishes the conservative habit of mind, and preaches positively. It is an exceptional class of Scottish preachers that aim supremely at immediate ethical or evangelistic impression. The dominant aim is edification by exposition and by enlargement of religious knowledge, or by mental clarification and the regulation of correct thinking, and all moral inculcation or evangelistic incentive is based on sound teaching as the preacher understands it. Devout in his habit of mind, like the German, he yet lacks the German's copious sentimentality and his intellectual freedom, and he does not always clearly distinguish between what is churchly orthodox and what is Biblically evangelical. But he is capable of strong enthusiasm, has trained skill in translating theological thought into popular forms of conception and speech, and has not less a practical than a didactic aim. Scottish race peculiarities are generally prominent in the preacher, and they have made themselves manifest in every period, although, in the tendency toward unification of homiletic type, they are somewhat less marked in our day. The characteristic thoughtfulness of the Scottish race, its seriousness and its rhetorical forcefulness and elocutionary vigor, are almost always present in the pulpit product, and sometimes, one may add, a certain self-reliance and self-assertiveness, which involve a guileless self-consciousness which is quite pardonable in those who are the objects of great respect and sometimes of adulation. But while race peculiarities are generally apparent, Scottish preaching has disclosed various types in different periods. The

period of the Reformation and that of the Covenant were characterized by strong, rude polemics. There were foes within and without the church, and Christianity was always on the defensive. The preacher lived in the constant conviction that he was surrounded by the enemies of the true faith. It was an aggressive, militant pulpit, tributary doubtless to unchristian tempers of mind and to ecclesiastical discord, but with all its narrowness of view, its crudeness and provincialism of thought, its schismatic spirit, its rudeness of tone and temper, and its stiff and formal methods, it probably did the work that fell to its hand as well as its limitations permitted, and better far in ultimate result than, from the point of view of our own age, might have been expected. It fixed the dogmatic method, which is an inheritance of the Scottish preacher, from which only in late years he has disinherited himself. Nowhere in Protestant Christendom has Christian apology held so important a place in the pulpit or Christian apologetics received so full and elaborate development. But it never wholly lost its Biblical basis and was never wholly indifferent to the demands of the changing conditions of time.

The Secession movement, which is the principal basis of the United Presbyterian church, was one of the chief agencies that wrought a modification in the harsher features of Calvinism, and in the polemic severities of the preaching of a previous period. The development of Moderatism, so called, to which reference has already been made, which dates from the beginning of the eighteenth century, still further modified the lingering sternness of Calvinism, but ignored the evangelical doctrines of the church and introduced into the pulpit a species of rationalistic moralizing analogous to the deistic preaching of England. In its formal aspect, however, it enriched preaching by availing itself of the literary culture of the time, which secured for it a tone of stately respectability that made it acceptable to the educated classes, while in the

substance of its teaching and in its religious tone it became impoverished and was unfruitful both for thought and life. During all these movements the philosophical, and indeed the theological, basis of Scottish preaching underwent no fundamental change. The Secession movement modified but did not revolutionize the theology of the church, and Moderatism simply ignored orthodoxy, but made no substantial head against it.

The evangelical movement, which antagonized the "moderate" school in the first half of the last century, was not only theological but ecclesiastical in its character and aim, and while it opposed the latitudinarianism and rationalism of "moderatism," and under the changed conditions of church life, and especially under new demands upon its philanthropy, effected an ecclesiastical emancipation, it also still further modified the austerities of the older Calvinism. This "Anti-patronage" movement of the evangelicals, which resulted in the "Disruption" and the consequent birth of the Free Church, was conterminous with the movement of the high Anglicans of England, who, between the years 1833 and 1843, under the influence of a newly awakened church life, were endeavoring to detach the church from its entanglements with the state. It was a genuine movement of evangelical piety and philanthropy, whose influence and results have never been lost to the Scottish churches. Chalmers was the representative and leader of this movement. Its stress-point was the "Crown Rights of Christ" and the evangelical freedom of the church. The United Free Church is its ultimate outcome. In connection with its enlarged philanthropy and improved literary quality, the preaching of the evangelical movement had some new features of theological interest. But its fundamental theological basis remained substantially unchanged. Chalmers and his school continued to defend Christianity upon the basis of its external evidences, denying the com-

petence of human reason to criticise the content of historic revelation, although acknowledging its competence to apprehend and defend its evidences. The Chalmers school belonged substantially to the eighteenth century.

The Scottish churches have been somewhat slow to respond to new movements of theologic thought, and as is the case with most of the churches that are nominally anchored to the Westminster confession, the practical life has got ahead of its theoretic or reflective life. The historical and critical movement, which entered the sphere of theology in England during the first half of the last century, had but little influence upon the Scottish pulpit, despite the new interest that was awakened by it in the sphere of literature. Glimpses of a more spiritual world of thought, and of a more experimental and practical method of defending Christianity, were caught by a few rare men. But this new humanism did not succeed in modifying fundamentally the doctrinal position of the church. Thomas Erskine and McLeod Campbell, anticipating much that has since more fully developed, approached Christianity from a new point of departure and ineffectually undertook to do for Scotland what Bushnell a little later did, with large results, for New England. But the old Scottish realism still held the field and still brought its contributions to the Christianity of the Westminster confession. These men of light and leading were misunderstood, and were sacrificed to the theology of a past age, of which Professor Flint says:[1] "Prodigiously fertile as the eighteenth century was in apologetic literature, it produced only one treatise of note on the internal evidences, and it is said to have been suspected of being the work of a disguised enemy." Edward Irving failed to interpret rationally the philosophy of Coleridge and lost himself in fanaticism, and Norman McLeod, one of the manliest and most Christian of Scottish

[1] Sermon, "Present Day Christian Apologetics," 205.

preachers, was distrusted as a theological latitudinarian who had done much harm to the Calvinistic faith.

But a movement in the direction of a larger estimate of Christianity has appeared in our age. A volume of "Scotch Sermons," issued about twenty-five years ago, to which some of the prominent leaders of the established church contributed, doubtless represents "a style of teaching which increasingly prevails among the clergy of the Scottish church." It will receive more extended notice farther on. It represents what in a general way may be called the modern point of view. It would not in our day seem unchristian or unreasonable in its main teachings, and one wonders at the vigor with which it has been attacked. And yet, doubtless, it is not in line with the prevailing theologic attitude of the Scottish pulpit as a whole. It is the preachers of the evangelical school, who are, after a sort, theological successors of the Chalmers school, whether in the established or in the United Free churches, which represent, in various degrees and forms, that modified theological tendency in which we shall find most fully the prevailing spirit and method of the modern Scotch pulpit.

The evangelistic movement of a few years ago, in Scotland, under Mr. Moody, drew into its strong current some rare men, who fully shared the great leader's evangelistic zeal and coöperated with him in his work, but who also have carried into the churches the spirit and method of a new theological tendency, which has broadened the intellectual and spiritual horizon, enriching the thought-life of the church, while it has correspondingly conserved its evangelical piety. It is a most fortunate thing for the Scottish churches, for which the Christian world may be devoutly thankful, that this great evangelistic movement should have been broadened and fertilized by men with the modern spirit and the modern culture, and that it should have been made by them permanently tributary to the intellectual and spiritual life of these churches.

II.

It is doubtless already understood that our study of Scottish preaching is properly limited to the Presbyterian churches, for here we find its most characteristic exemplification. There have been, indeed, and there still are, able and distinguished preachers in other communions. Scottish Episcopacy discloses some of the marks of a genuine apostolic succession in the preaching of some of its ministers, and Scottish democracy is faithful to the traditions of a free pulpit. But neither the Episcopal nor the democratic church order has found in Scotland an altogether congenial ecclesiastical atmosphere. The period of the gifted and saintly Archbishop Leighton and that of the learned and forceful Wardlaw of Glasgow and Alexander of Edinburgh are not matched in our day. It is the established and United Free Presbyterian churches that furnish the most distinctive Scottish homiletic type.

i. It is a noteworthy fact that we find the nearest approach to modern liberalism, not in the preaching of the Free churches, but in that of the establishment. But after all it is not strange that the state church which sheltered the moderatism of the eighteenth century should also shelter the liberalism of the twentieth, and it may in a sort illustrate and perhaps vindicate Professor Knight's contention[1] that a historic church in alliance with the state is naturally tolerant of diversities of theological belief, and that with new light it will naturally promote modifications in theological opinion, while remaining itself unchanged in its organization.

It was this, doubtless, that appealed to the free spirit of Dr. Norman McLeod, one of the most gifted and profoundly interesting ministers of the established church. He was in all his constitutional tendencies a broad church-

[1] "Scotch Sermons," 103 ff.

man, and by the quality of his education and culture, as well as by the circumstances and associations of his life, he was committed to Christian catholicity and breadth of theological basis. The influence of men like McLeod Campbell and Thomas Arnold and Frederick Maurice upon him was very strong, and he increased in largeness and nobility of spirit to the end. Before a good dogmatician he never bowed, but "before a good Christian" always. He held that it should be the aim of every church to make its dogmatic basis that of the church catholic, and that a church is catholic only when it can embrace a living Christendom, so that when a minister is deposed from his own communion he is thereby deposed from the whole church and when he is welcomed to any particular communion he may find standing in all communions. He lived in most friendly intercourse with all Christian churches, affiliating freely with the Methodists, by whom he was greatly beloved and admired, and giving himself in intense devotion to the work of the evangelical alliance. He was much more concerned about the sins of the church — its covetousness, its worldliness, schisms, and strifes — than about its doctrines. Into the movements of the scientific thought of his day he entered with enthusiasm and early renounced the Calvinism of his church, whose grip upon him had never been strong. For his calling as a minister he had an ardent love, and in his many-sidedness developed aptitudes for all branches of its service. In executive force he was pre-eminent, and he failed in no line of philanthropic effort. To the cause of missions he was especially devoted, and to the work of evangelism among the unchurched. The founding of chapels, of Sunday-schools, of day and night schools, tract distribution, temperance, care of the poor, penny-savings banks for the working classes, whose friend prœminently he was, all solicited his interest and evoked his administrative skill. He was a man of broad

and generous culture, of distinct literary gifts, with a trained eye and hand for artistic work, and he was a poet of no insignificant vision or meagre accomplishments. To the development of these gifts the influence of his home, constant contact with cultivated men, his residence in Germany, and his English affiliations were all strongly tributary. The influence of Coleridge, both as poet and philosopher, was one of the determining factors in his life, and above all the influence of Wordsworth, whose elevation and consecration of spirit strongly impressed itself upon him and whom he succeeded to a considerable extent in introducing to the attention of the Scottish people. In his love of friends and companions and of localities he reminds us of Charles Kingsley and of Frederick Maurice, and in his refined and delicate love of nature he reminds us of Frederick Robertson. His piety was ardent and devout. In his sense of "the awful mercy of God" he lived a thankful and humble life, but was burdened often with a sense of sin as he brooded upon that mercy. A veritable "child of nature," he still lived as in the presence of God and with open vision of invisible realities and knew himself as the child of God and rejoiced therein.

The personality of the man far outreaches in its significance the work he did. With his multifarious gifts and aptitudes, he failed to concentrate. As a preacher he never reached the measure of Guthrie, and no Scotchman ever reached the measure of Chalmers. But had his interests not been so wide-reaching and so varied, and had he concentrated upon the work of the pulpit, he might have left the record of one of the most powerful preachers of Scotland. For he had the equipment of the pulpit orator. Not only substance of thought, but presence, voice, and literary style, which was plain and direct, yet fresh, vivacious, and often pictorial, fitted him to reach successfully all classes. He was one of the

favorite chaplains to the Queen, but to the working-men of Glasgow he could preach with telling effect. He held evening religious services for working-men, and on the Lord's Day, at an hour before the regular morning service, he met these Glasgow workmen, who crowded his church to hear him preach. A plain, but mightily effective, sermon on the character of Joseph to these working-men, many of them in their work frocks, at this early hour of service is a memory of the writer's which will not pass.

Dr. McLeod has left almost nothing of a homiletic sort that adequately reveals his power as a preacher, but one may discover the preacher in much of the literary work that he has left us.

The "Scotch Sermons" to which reference has already been made are a product of the established church, and they illustrate the theological liberalism, the practical, ethical spirit, and the homiletic freedom of the modern pulpit.

In some of these discourses one finds a severe arraignment of the harsh theology of a former period, and of what is regarded as the intellectual, religious, and ecclesiastical conventionality of the Scottish churches, which cannot be altogether pleasant reading to those who are wedded to the ancient ways. The tone of repugnance to the dogmatic principle and to all sacerdotalism, priestcraft, and ecclesiasticism is most emphatic. In their advocacy of religious individualism some of them would seem decidedly extreme to one who holds the dogmatic principle or even to one who accepts any sort of external religious authority. It may also freely be acknowledged that in their insistence upon what is essential in religion, they fail to recognize adequately the value of its external and formal aspects. Upon an unprejudiced and discriminating reader, therefore, there is often left an impression of inadequacy or of one-sidedness, rather than of positive untruth. Some unreasonable and fallacious, because superficial and undiscriminated, things are said. The conten-

tion, for example, that the essential, ethical principle of Pharisaism consists in its recognition of the finitude as distinguished from the infinitude of duty is altogether superficial and misleading.[1] Perhaps the most misleading and altogether inadequate, not to say non-Christian, discourse in the volume is that entitled "The Things that cannot be Shaken."[2] These things are those upon which Kantian naturalism lays stress. They are the reality of duty, of God, and of immortality. We have here an illustration of the utter inadequacy of many of the conceptions and statements as to what is permanent in Christianity, that are common in our day. They do not, in fact, touch what is most distinctive in Christianity, and many things that are adduced as permanent contain implicitly much more that must be permanent, but it is either unrecognized or ignored or rejected. The non-Christian and essentially deistic character of this sermon is its fatal defect. The attacks upon certain beliefs of so-called orthodoxy are doubtless justifiable, but these beliefs are not of the essence of true orthodoxy, much less of true Christianity. This fact is ignored. One finds here a tendency to minimize the apologetic value of miracles. The reality of the miraculous is not definitely denied, only its value for our day is questioned. One may deny the miraculous and yet accept Christianity. Revelation does not rest upon miracle but miracle upon revelation. The Bible is authoritative because it is true, not true because it is authoritative. In individual beliefs the individual reason is ultimate authority. Reason, however, is not the conceptual or speculative understanding, but the sum total of all the faculties used in reaching rational and moral judgments. The dogmatic principle is summarily rejected, and the subjective, experimental, individualistic principle is set off against it and accepted.

[1] Sermon XVII, 273. [2] Sermon XII, 194.

Two sermons by Dr. Mackintosh, "The Law of Moral Continuity" and "The Renovating Power of Christianity," although made needlessly defective by the expression of irrelevant and inconsequential opinions, are among the most weighty and convincing in their defence of the inevitableness of moral penalty, of the rational and normal character of moral change, and in their exposition of the august truth of the divine forgiveness. In their general point of view and their prevailing theological attitude these sermons are in line with those that are becoming increasingly common in all our Protestant churches, and despite their inadequacies of statement, judged by standards that are accepted by many of the evangelical churches, even in Scotland itself, there is but little here that should be disquieting.

They deal with the ethical aspects of Christianity. They direct attention to the divine in common life, and advocate a type of religion that consists in doing the work of life according to God's will as Christ did it. Disinterested love is the heart of the Christian life. Our common human nature is the most adequate revelation of God, and, as in Christ it exists in ideal form, he in this ideal humanity is the only perfect revelation. The object of Christianity is not to teach correct doctrine, or to regulate religious thinking, but to relieve every form of human distress. It is not the church alone that represents this work of relief; all unselfish philanthropists, whether they bear the Christian name or not, are, in some worthy sort, Christ's successors, are doing his work, and belong to his kingdom. Christianity, although fundamentally individualistic, as dealing primarily with individual needs, appeals to what is common and human and avails itself of the social instincts. Religious knowledge presupposes an ethical mind. It is a condition of the life of the soul. Righteousness is strictly personal and cannot be imputed. True religion is catholic in spirit and in its love of truth

will respect the results of all scientific, historical, and critical investigation.

There is in these discourses nothing of that elaborateness of treatment which was the characteristic of the preaching of former periods. They are in the essay style. The didactic interest is supreme and the homiletic form is of but little importance. The literary style varies of course with different preachers. In general it is straightforward and plain, without any effort at rhetorical impression, and is appropriate to the substance and object of the sermons. They bear evidence of a conscious advocacy, disclose a theological tendency, were written for the most part to be read, and the literary style is adapted to the written rather than the oral product.

Among the well-known preachers and teachers that appear here are Principal John Caird of the University of Glasgow and Professor William Knight of the University of St. Andrews. Professor Caird has long been known as "a great Scotch preacher." More than a generation ago he was introduced to a wide circle of readers in a sermon preached before the Queen, entitled "Religion in Common Life." It evidently met at that time a real want, opening up from the ethical point of view what seemed a new and broader conception of the Christian life, for it was widely circulated and is sometimes catalogued as among his best-known products.

In early life Professor Caird was a pastor in Glasgow, and a volume of sermons represents the work of that brief period. They are of the pastoral sort, devoting themselves directly to the spiritual interests of individual hearers and dealing wholly with personal religious experience. They belong to a stirring period in British thought and life, but give no evidence of the influence of theological, ecclesiastical, and social questions then in discussion, and bear no trace of the Hegelian philosophy, in the application of which to the interpretation of Christianity he sub-

sequently became noted. The evangelical note is positive and strong, suggesting no variation from the traditional standards of orthodoxy as related to the chief doctrines of Christianity, such as the incarnation, the divinity of Christ, and the atonement. The first sermon in the volume, on "The Self-evidencing Nature of Divine Truth," is a judicious, convincing defence of the thesis that Christianity commends itself to and vindicates itself in the moral consciousness by disclosing the lost ideal of manhood and the method of its recovery. In this and in other discourses the ethical factor in our knowledge of divine things receives abundant emphasis, and there is nothing here that would not readily be accepted by evangelical thinkers of every school.

In these early sermons the preacher followed the well-approved homiletic methods of the Scottish pulpit of that day. They are elaborately wrought. The introductions are characteristically but not disproportionately lengthy. The themes are definitely conceived and clearly stated, the final sometimes taking the place of the causal theme, in which the object rather than the subject of the discussion appears. The outlines are orderly and well defined, and the topics are secured largely by an analysis of the subject and are statements of the causes, grounds, or reasons which elucidate it by presenting the rationale of it, or are the unfoldings of various aspects in which the subject may be contemplated. Not infrequently the negative and positive categories are used. The development is always illustrative, and never of the nature of abstract discussion. As didactic methods, contrast and comparison abound, and the *a fortiori* process and appeal are not infrequent. In substance the thought is prevailingly philosophical, although addressing itself directly to human experience, and is almost wholly without the support of Biblical or other literary citation. In illustrative method and in literary style we are reminded somewhat of Chalmers. It is a

somewhat dignified and stately style. The sentences are long and slow of movement. Words of Latin origin abound, and the diction is in general in line with what is commonly recognized as characteristic of Scottish eloquence. The conclusions are appropriately of the inferential sort, ending in faithful pastoral appeal. While evangelical in thought, after the Scottish standards, these sermons are modern in spirit. But in point of elaboration, in lack of brevity and conciseness, they belong to a former period, and in this regard especially they are in somewhat striking contrast with the two discourses that appear in "Scotch Sermons," the first two in the volume, "Corporate Immortality" and "Union with God." There is no evidence in these latter discourses of any departure from the evangelical faith. If there be a pantheistic suggestiveness about them, it is of the Christian sort. In both the author's Hegelianism is manifest and they suggest the remarkable facility with which this philosophy adjusts itself to the themes in discussion. The individual man appears here as set deep in the processes of human development. All personality has its ultimate ground in God, and realizes or fulfils itself only in union with God, and, as having its secondary and immediate ground in humanity, it also realizes itself only in union with humanity. There is something divine in man and a certain infinitude that allies him with Christ, the God-man. All this is wholesome teaching, and if the Hegelian formula adjusts itself to it, it merits no reproach thereby. The treatment throughout is illustrative, and analogy is the prevailing didactic method. The defect of the discourse on "Corporate Immortality" is not in its positive teachings, but in a certain failure to recognize personal existence as an end to itself, and in what seems a tendency to minimize the significance and worth of personality. In the stress that is laid upon the loss of self in order to find it, one seems to detect a certain inadequacy and one-sidedness.

In form we have the essay style and without elaboration. The thought is large and weighty. It is a single thought that runs through the discourse, handled illustratively in the unfolding, not building, process and the diction is elevated to match the thought. The teaching is broadly Christian, is quite in line with the religious thought of our time, and is worthy of the learning, piety, and distinguished ability of the honored author.

Professor Knight, of the Chair of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews, discusses "Conservation and Change" and "The Continuity and Development of Religion." In the former discourse we have a defence of the national church as a conserving force in theological changes. In the latter we find a frank recognition of the unsettled state of theological thought. The discourse is an advocacy of the view that religion must develop subjectively in a historical process from lowest to highest forms, that to this subjective answers an objective reality, and that in this historic movement the supernatural emerges in a process of revelation. Here, too, as always in this volume, we find a distinct departure from the formal methods of the Scottish pulpit in the prevalence of the essay style. It would seem that the liberal movement has reached and strongly influenced the pastorate of the established churches, for these "Scotch Sermons" are for the most part from men in pastoral life and but few of them are from preachers in the schools of theology. There are, however, many pastors of the first rank and many theological teachers who represent the more conservative and less aggressive tendency.

Among the prominent theological teachers of this tendency should be mentioned Professor Flint of the University of Edinburgh, one of the ablest and best known theologians of Scotland. There is nothing that is extreme in his conservatism. Indeed, his point of view, as disclosed in his address entitled "Some Requirements of the Present-

day Christian Apologetics," [1] is in many respects modern and would indicate a material modification in his method of approaching the problems of theology, if not in his interpretation of the symbols of his church. This address is a valuable summary of stress points in methods of apology that are adapted to the needs of our time. The comprehensiveness and balance of the discussion are its most notable features. It lays due emphasis upon different classes of evidence,—the experimental, the historical, and the rational,—and accepts no one as of itself adequate for a scientific apologetic. Neither the evidentialists, like those of the eighteenth century, who rely upon objective evidences, nor the modern idealists, who rely wholly upon subjective evidences, nor the Biblical traditionalists, who defend the historic faith by appeal to inspired documents, are accepted as in their methods meeting the needs of our time. His insistence upon scientific methods in investigating the Scriptures is a valuable counterweight to the dogmatism of the traditionalists, and his advocacy of unconditional hospitality to the well-ascertained results of the scientific investigation of nature and of a rational psychology and metaphysics, is a valuable counterweight to the extremes of modern idealism.

Professor Flint's volume of sermons, consisting of occasional discourses preached to exceptionally intelligent audiences, suggests the gifts of the teacher rather than of the preacher. Those that were addressed to students disclose especially the wisdom and the sympathy of the religious guide. With the teachings of his church in its most important aspects he is apparently in harmony, but we are confronted here with no ultra-conservatism, and orthodoxy in his hands manifestly holds itself tributary to Christian intelligence, piety, and morality. There is nothing in the sermons that is especially striking or impressive save a certain religious devoutness of tone. They

[1] "Sermons and Addresses," 1899, 299.

affect no novelties. They present the commonplaces of Christian truth in a serious and sympathetic manner, but without the freshness and suggestiveness of thought which we have learned to expect from the Scottish preacher, and they lack his fine literary touch and rhetorical forcefulness. We are not able to forget that we are in contact with a theologian. But they are eminently discriminating and judicious and above all Christian sermons. The method of treatment is in general textual, even verbally textual, dealing often minutely with stress words. The diction is simple and clear and matches well the discriminating quality of the thought, and the sincerity and moral sobriety and dignity and religious devoutness of the preacher are everywhere apparent. If the interest he has awakened and the impression he has made as a theological thinker are not especially increased by this volume, they are not at all diminished.

ii. In the United Free church, especially in the old Free church of the Disruption, the church of Chalmers and Guthrie, Cunningham and Candlish, and in the United Presbyterian church, the church of Cairns and Ker, is found a large group of interesting and able preachers. It may seem strange that one should pass in silence the greatest preacher Scotland has produced, and one almost needs to justify one's self in so doing. But Dr. Chalmers is probably better known to the Christian world than any other Scottish preacher. Besides, with all his influence in some ways upon the modern world, he belongs to a past age. He belongs essentially to the eighteenth century, and it is our purpose to deal for the most part with those who have been to a considerable extent subject to modern influences. These modern preachers of the United Free churches combine in an admirable manner the evangelical, the scientific, and the literary spirit, and they represent what is best in the Scottish preaching of our day. They seem not to have developed what might be called latitudi-

narianism or radical tendencies to the extent that some of the preachers of the established church have done. But if Norman McLeod were living to-day, his dread of being brought into dogmatic servitude by the Free churches would probably wholly vanish. If their preachers have not more fully than those of the established church appropriated the results of modern Biblical scholarship, for pulpit use, they at least seem to have done so in a more practical and concrete and cautious and conservative manner. These results have certainly been introduced into the pulpit very freely and yet in a manner wholly consonant with the evangelical habit of mind, and with the evangelistic interest. These churches are, therefore, rich in helpful Biblical preachers of a somewhat new, fresh type. Many of the Free church preachers who have in an unusual degree the ear of the public and are well known we must pass without reference. Two of them, however, should be mentioned.

Dr. A. B. Davidson was one of the most distinctive of this class of preachers. His volume of expository, biographical sermons, dealing with Biblical characters, and entitled "The Called of God," is in its substance of thought one of the most refreshing and helpful products of this type of preaching that has been issued in late years, and not the less impressive is it in its tone, or interesting in its method, or attractive in its diction.

He was for forty years a teacher of Hebrew in the theological department of the University of Edinburgh. For a short time he was a student under Ewald, and there seems to be internal evidence that Ewald continued to be his teacher through those volumes of his that so attractively interpret the genius of Hebrew literature. The humanistic and the sympathetic manner in which he enters into the study and the graphic manner in which he interprets the lives of Biblical personages suggest the influence upon Davidson of this great scholar. In the scholarship which

he brought to his work, and the sympathetic humanity, the religious feeling, and the literary skill which he threw into it, he became a teacher of rare power of inspiration. He was not what may be called a popular preacher, nor as a preacher was he widely known. Yet the gifts that made him so eminently successful as a teacher fitted him in like degree for the type of preaching in which he was equally successful. He was an occasional preacher, who had never entered the pastorate and who always preferred the rural to the metropolitan pulpit as the most appropriate sphere for his modest self-estimate. But his shyness and reserve, as is not infrequently the case, only enhanced his attractiveness and impressiveness as a preacher to thoughtful people, and a strain of sadness and of sympathy with the most serious and sombre aspects of human life contributed a certain pathos to his utterance, and enhanced his power as an interpreter of Biblical characters. With all his personal reserve and seeming remoteness, he had, as is so frequently the case with great preachers, the gift of self-revelation in the pulpit, and although averse to pastoral life he was eminently a pastoral preacher, as dealing with those themes that edify and as touching those conditions of human experience with which successful pastoral preaching concerns itself. In making Biblical personalities and their experiences speak to the deepest and most characteristic wants of modern life he had rare skill. Large truths are opened up that touch the depths of human existence, and in such concrete manner as gives them ready access to the soul. A serious sense of life's mystery brings him deeply into sympathy with the characters and experiences with which he deals and leads him into fellowship with all those who in our day have a corresponding sense of mystery and perplexity. It was this tendency to penetrate the sombre and mysterious aspects of human life that fitted him preëminently to interpret the book of Job, which he undertook, but, for

some reason, possibly a sense of unfitness, never finished, leaving us only that which suggests what might have been perhaps one of the completest and most attractive and helpful of all modern expositions of the great drama.

The discourses above referred to have for their subjects some of the most prominent Old Testament characters and a few of the most interesting New Testament characters. His analysis of the character of Saul is striking and masterful. He pierces the centre. Saul is conceived as a misplaced man, a man of rare native gifts, but without the great, chief gift, the gift for religion. This fatal lack unfitted him for his place and work and brought his downfall. The analysis of the character of Thomas, too, is interesting and somewhat novel. He is not the man whose critical activities, according to the common estimate, dominate his spiritual susceptibilities. It is excess of emotion that dominates his intellectual activities. His scepticism is not that of the intellect. It has its genesis in excess of sentiment, of feeling and imagination. The skill with which such novel views are propounded and illustrated leaves a strong impression, whether they command our mental judgment or not. Great depth of moral and religious earnestness is disclosed by these discourses, and the seriousness with which the preacher stands before the august problems of human life reminds us of the high churchman of whom Canon Mozley is an illustration. Largeness in the handling of the material of thought, an economic grasp of the central realities of his subjects, and a fine literary touch in which we have a suggestive use of the imagination, disclose in Dr. Davidson some of the choicest gifts of the expository preacher. The outlines of the discourses are sufficiently clear, but in their method they suggest the teacher rather than the preacher. They are not in sermon form and make no effort to conform to the best approved and most effective homiletic standards. But the author's insight into the characters with which he

deals, his knowledge of his own age, and his sense of, and sympathy with, those human experiences that touch the depths of life, reveal the choice gifts of the preacher and would speak to us forcefully in any form. In the literary style there is a quality of freshness, a simplicity, clearness, manliness, a frequent felicity in the choice of words, a grace of movement combined with the vigor of directness, that secure attractiveness and master attention. The countenance of the preacher, as it appears once or twice in the volume, is winsome, suggestive at once of thoughtfulness, seriousness, firmness, and humor. It is said that Dr. Davidson's liturgical gifts, as is generally the case with Scottish preachers, were commensurate with his homiletic gifts. His conduct of public worship was marked by an earnestness, humility, reverence, devoutness, sympathy, simplicity, and a confidential freedom, wholly consonant with dignity, that at once disclose the secret of the fact that the best-trained Scottish preachers are easily able in the service of worship to dispense with fixed and permanent forms.

Professor George Adam Smith, the friend, colaborer, and biographer of Drummond, is justly recognized as one of the most gifted preachers as well as teachers of Scotland. Not only the volume of sermons on a variety of interesting subjects dating back to the period of his active ministry in the church that were published last year, but the exceedingly attractive and helpful work on the Book of Isaiah, illustrate the value, not for the preacher alone but for the teacher as well, of a decade or more of experience in pastoral life. Professor Smith's Biblical work discloses first of all, of course, the spirit of the scholar, but hardly less the spirit of the preacher. And these discourses, while they disclose preëminently the pastoral spirit, reveal also the scholar. Results of Biblical study are incorporated in his treatment of his themes in a very fruitful manner. Fearless as he is in his critical estimate of the ethical con-

tents of portions of the Old Testament, he is no destructive critic. "There are certain features," he says, "which neither the reason nor the conscience of many of us will readily accept." [1] But in all his critical estimates he would conserve a more genuine reverence for the Bible, and his apprehension of the worth of its religious teachings and his interpretation of their practical moral import are just, discriminating, positive, and clear. Of exceptional value are the biographical discourses on "Esau," the two on "Gideon," and those of a semiexpository character, like "The Song of the Well" and "The Good Samaritan." Not only a ready insight into the subjects discussed is revealed but great skill in the analytic handling of the material. Fresh aspects open before us as we follow the preacher in the unfolding of his Biblical themes and we are left in possession of most unexpected and most helpful lessons. "The Song of the Well" is felicitously suggestive of the honor that is due what men regard as the commonplace and the inglorious realities of life. Such discourses in the hands of such an interpreter illustrate the vast resources for the preacher of the Old Testament as it is laid open to us by modern Biblical studies. Their evangelical quality, so simple and genuine, so wholly free from all cant and conventionality, is also an element of strength. The preacher does not obscure or ignore the dark fact of human sin, and his utterances with respect to it are fearless and faithful. The rational and ethical aspects of the atonement are fully recognized and their significance for a practical Christian life are pointed out. In a very simple, practical, and effective way this is discussed in the sermon entitled "The Two Wills." The true conception of the forgiveness of sin is the theme of the first sermon, from which the volume takes its title. The basis of forgiveness in the perfect sacrifice of Christ is not essential to the discussion. But so important is it

[1] "The Forgiveness of Sin," 193.

in the apprehension of the preacher that, in the interest of truth and of the needs of his hearers, he is constrained to touch upon it in both introduction and conclusion, and no merely homiletic considerations are sufficient to restrain him. The surprises of thought that constantly meet us are attractive features of the volume. Felicitous and highly suggestive thoughts which disclose the ingenuity of the preacher are all the while turning up. Themes are occasionally deduced from texts in such way as to surprise us, although there is in general nothing far fetched or remote. To deduce from Ps. xix. 9, "The Fear of the Lord is clean, enduring for ever," the somewhat remote inferential thought of the "Moral Character of the Bible" may be a doubtful homiletic advantage, however justifiable exegetically, since a better text for this theme could probably be found. But the process has its homiletic as well as exegetical justification, and certainly has the merit of setting at defiance the commonplace and obvious. "The Good Samaritan" is in its entire treatment an excellent illustration of homiletic ingenuity and of these homiletic surprises. In vivacity of thought, in a certain pungency of diction, in cleverness of exposition and of suggestion, it is one of the best sermons in the volume. The theological teacher who recognizes the fact that the truth is worth just what it can do for us will be a preacher. The practical character of Professor Smith's preaching discloses the true spirit of the preacher. A serious tone pervades it. The tragic character of human life is never obscured or ignored. "While ye have the Light" has caught the very tones of Jesus as he uttered the words. A like tone is found in other sermons. The preacher discloses a definite moral purpose to drive the truth home to the heart and conscience and to make it productive in character and conduct. It is this quality that secures for the preaching of the Free churches of Scotland, as of England, an exceptional impressiveness and effectiveness. The method of

approach to the hearer is along the pathway of experience, and this secures for the preaching the note of reality. In the discussion of the difficult subject of prayer, instead of following the theoretic or abstract method, the preacher chooses the concrete and experimental method, and makes the subject turn upon our Lord's example in prayer. This is his appeal in testing its reality and worth. His interest in the social problems of modern life, in which the best Scottish preachers have the lead, is variously manifest, but especially in the sermon "The Moral Meaning of Hope," which in its strength of moral impressiveness is of exceptional value.

In the character of the outlines of these sermons there is a notable variety. Some have well-defined boundary marks, and the whole course of thought traversed is taken in at once and securely held. In others they fail. But the arrangement is always logical and the discussion is always followed without perplexity. There is no stereotyped method. Each sermon has its own order, unfolding itself from within, and is the more interesting for this reason. The directness of approach to the audience and the rapidity of approach to the subject, is in general noteworthy, particularly so in "The Forgiveness of Sin," "Temptation," "The Two Wills," and in the biographical sermons. To get into close quarters with the subject without unnecessary delay and into quick touch with the hearer is the manifest purpose of the preacher. If the approach is slow and deliberate, it is because the subject demands it.

The simplicity, the thoughtful, reflective quality and the occasional vivacity of the style, with a not infrequent idiomatic homeliness of diction are features of attractiveness. It is as simple as the language of personal conference, preëminently colloquial and plain, and when inclination prompts deliberately homely, but thoughtful as the style of a man who is accustomed to think through and out what he would say; and the ease and freedom, as of

discourse that says itself, and is not dependent upon the force pump either from within or from without, impress themselves upon the reader at once. The Free churches of Scotland, not less than those of England, are to be congratulated upon the gift of men who know well how to make tributary their scholarly acquisitions and their literary culture to the interpretation of the great realities of the Gospel of Redemption and to the higher moral and religious welfare of men.

V

THE PREACHING OF THE UNITED STATES

In passing from the British to the American pulpit we find ourselves in the same general homiletic world, although one that is somewhat more complex and varied. The marks of its English origin and of English influence still measurably linger with it. In the early period these influences were of course more direct and more potent than now, because of the closer ecclesiastical connection of the churches and the closer political relations of the people with the mother country. But there is much that the two countries still share in common, and that has had result in the promotion and perpetuation of the same general type of preaching in different communions. There are not only the common ecclesiastical sources and traditions, but the common Anglo-Saxon temperament and mental habit and a common language and literature. There are like industrial and commercial conditions, a like political spirit, a not altogether dissimilar type of political institutions, all of which largely affects the education of the people and is largely determinative of the character of the church problems with which the preacher deals. There are corresponding types of church polity, similar methods of church administration, and there is continuous and ever increasing friendly intercourse. The results of all these interactionary influences are seen in the work of the pulpit. We very readily detect the influence of the Anglican pulpit in the preaching of the American Episcopal church, and the influence of English nonconformity

upon the preaching of our nonliturgical churches is also in some measure manifest. All those leading influences, moreover, that have become a common possession of the age, and that have passed into and through the experiences of the two peoples and especially that have gotten themselves reflected in their literatures, have combined in the furthering of a common result. Much that is best in American, equally with the best in English, preaching bears the traces of this common influence. But all such external influences, although finding a ready response among the American people in an age of comprehension, work necessarily under local conditions. As a result, therefore, American preaching is much more distinctive in its characteristics, bearing more fully the mark of local and temporal conditions than in the earlier period, and takes the impress of a rapidly developing and changing national life. Some of these qualities, which, although English in lineage, and participant in the common life of the age, may be called distinctively American, and are illustrated in various forms and degrees in different ecclesiastical communions, let us consider.

I.

i. A high valuation of the preacher's place and a high estimate of his function, which are an inheritance from our British ancestors, have always been, and in good measure still are, characteristic of the better classes of the American people. All this is modified by their democratic spirit, by their practical business instincts and habits, and by the increasing superficiality of American life. And on the whole the place and work of the preacher are not, in the formal sense at least, so highly respected in the United States as in Great Britain. But in any great emergency affecting the moral welfare of the people, in any great crisis in public affairs, it is the American preacher that is

likely to come to the front, that makes himself felt, and that not infrequently takes the place of leader. In all great reforms the ministry have had and still have a prominent place. And in all this it is not merely the man that avails, although personal manhood will always command the respect of the American people, but it is the place and function as well. Most of our churches inherit the traditions of a Christianity that speaks to the mind through the ear, and that demands effective oral interpretation and advocacy. The larger number of our homiletic ancestors were trained in the school of an independent and virile Protestantism, and their descendants, sharing in good measure their respect for truth and for a free, prophetic proclamation of it, have sought in their own way to perpetuate their inheritance in the new world.

It is true that the Episcopal church has developed the liturgical interest somewhat at cost, perhaps, of the homiletic. The liturgist has doubtless limited somewhat the influence and power of the preacher. Here, as elsewhere, we recognize Anglican tendencies. American Episcopacy has, therefore, been in general less independent in its development than those churches that originated in English dissent, and attained to a somewhat distinctive character before they sought to perpetuate themselves in the new world. There has been, however, a very decided change and a distinct improvement in the preaching of the Episcopal church, especially within the last generation, and there is manifest a higher estimate of the preacher's function. Some of the most gifted and edifying preachers of the country are to be found in the Episcopal church, and its influence, by the culture of the liturgical mind and by the example of practical effectiveness in philanthropic enterprise in behalf of the unblessed classes in modifying the excesses of the didactic homiletic mind that have so long borne sway in some of our nonliturgical churches, should be gratefully acknowledged. A fuller recognition of the

necessity of enriching and enlarging the worship of our churches, and of adjusting our preaching and our church administration to the more varied needs of the people, is associated with this modification. Other agencies have been at work, whose sources have already been traced. They have appeared in the political, industrial, and commercial life of the people, in education and literature, in the intellectual and ethical revolt of liberalism so called, and in the spiritual revolt of Methodism. All these agencies have wrought an enrichment and enlargement of the conception, not only of the preacher's task but of the proper scope of pastoral and parochial activities, and a consequent recognition of the need of a more broadly and variously trained ministry. The newspaper and the periodical press and other forms of modern literature have, in this country especially, been tributary to a modification in the popular estimate of the significance and importance of the preacher's work, and as a consequence the American pulpit, as is of course true everywhere, has not the prominence, as an educative agency, or at least the sort of prominence, it once had. But it is, after all, still the American habit to assign to the pulpit an important place in the life of the church, and, despite the criticism to which it has been subjected, — criticism sometimes just and sound, but often unjust and shallow, — it continues to be, as it always must be in a republic where Christianity is still in any worthy measure respected and that expects to perpetuate its existence, one of the most, if not the most potent influence in the presentation of all great moral and religious questions. The American estimate of the work of the pulpit is higher than the German or the French, and on the whole in the material aspect higher than even the English. In an intelligent democracy, where from early years citizens have been taught the value of public speech, and where an aptitude for it is early developed, such estimate is a necessity. The American preacher speaks to a reading public in which

every species of knowledge is popularized, and from whose schools of all grades nimble minded hearers are sent. Free discussion,— free theoretically, and still measurably free in fact,—despite the repressive influences of ecclesiastical dogmatism, of commercial corruption, and of political conspiracy against the freedom of the people, secures still a habit of independent judgment. Church attendance, although abandoned by large sections of the educated and uneducated population, is still measurably a matter of choice and habit on the part of the responsible, middle class. A free state and a free church rely upon the power of a free pulpit and a free ministry to perpetuate the moral and religious life of the people. There is, therefore, a severe exaction upon the preacher. No state church, with its political and ecclesiastical prestige and its wealth and social position, represses the freedom of individual judgment or of individual initiative, or discredits the power of the free utterance of a free ministry. Tradition, precedent, custom, which is the common law of ecclesiastical communities that are in close alliance with the state, has but little weight in a free church that has a firm grip upon the present and a clear outlook upon the future. An elaborate ritual, about which gather the sanctities of ages and of traditional authority, has never gotten firm hold here. It is the broad church in all religious communions, not the high church, that is the most distinctive American product. It is true that dogmatic tradition still bears sway in some religious communities, but it is an anachronism. The typical American pulpit deals freely with the traditional theology of the churches. It has more power because more intelligent freedom than a pulpit hampered by dogmatic tradition. Even the strongly centralized churches, whose influence is measurably conditioned by close organization, have many of them been not less freely responsive than the more democratic churches to a popularly effective pulpit. This is the Protestantism of the American pulpit.

In it we have a relic of the old Puritan spirit, a spirit of awakened freedom under the modifications of modern life. The religious freedom to which we are born lies back of American preaching, and the most dogmatic of our religious communions have not escaped the influence.

ii. In line with this traditional estimate of the importance of the preacher's function, as already intimated, is the intellectual virility of American preaching. The didactic element, in fact, lies at the basis of all types of it. This, too, is an inheritance. In the early history of the country all schools of preachers, even the schools of highly emotional preachers, accepted the prevailing conception of Christianity as a religion that is to be taught. The theology of the various sects may have differed widely, but they all had their theology. With inconsiderable exceptions they all shared the view that the theology of the Scriptures should be formulated by the church and that thus it should be preached. A revolt within the church against all formulated theology was then unknown. It was a later movement. The revolt was merely from one type of theology to another. And this theology had its philosophical basis, such as it was. Even the Methodist church of a later day, whose preaching was of the emotional type, which it has never lost, had its theology, and it has been preached with great effectiveness. Its founder was an exceptionally able and accomplished theologian and a preacher of extraordinary logical power, notable for the systematic quality of his thinking. And the Methodist church, although it has produced no successor to the great founder who has been his equal, has sought, and successfully, to perpetuate the doctrines of grace as conceived by him. It was a well-defined system of doctrine, and although its truths, as appropriated and domesticated in Christian experience, have been presented in a vigorously emotional and concrete manner, the preaching of Methodism, as illustrated by its representative men, has still had a dis-

tinct didactic and even philosophic basis. It has sought to save souls by the forceful presentation of the great saving truths of Christianity substantially as conceived by its pioneers.

The Baptist churches, too, have had their theology, which has furnished a teaching basis for the work of the pulpit, and they have perpetuated and enlarged themselves by holding tenaciously to its distinctive characteristics. Their remarkable success in time past in this country is due not only or chiefly to the scenic impressiveness of their baptismal service, or to the sacredness with which their covenant life is invested, or to their evangelistic ardor, but as well to the strenuous inculcation and defence of their distinguishing doctrines. What is true of these communions is also true of others. All these early influences have committed American preaching to a didactic basis. Many of the preachers in some of these sects, of which the United States has been so prolific, have been relatively uneducated men, but their founders and their representative preachers have been men of learning and of training. Even those sects that have discarded the theology of the church, and have fallen back upon the unformulated content of Biblical revelation, have sought to perpetuate in the intelligence, as well as in the convictions and affections of the people, those religious opinions and principles for which they and their fathers have fought.

The American pulpit has, therefore, been strongly Protestant, and its leading intellectual influence has doubtless been Puritan. Its most characteristic early type was the old Puritan preaching of England, which, as we have seen, was strongly didactic, and even dogmatic and apologetic, and which valued emotional excitation and emotional interest in and enthusiasm for the truth only as based on intelligent apprehension of it.

The preachers of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches especially were in the main well-educated and well-

trained theologians, who had a philosophic grasp of the truth they proclaimed. And they left as an inheritance a type of preaching that has been in a general sense prevailingly philosophical in its character, and which has been with many modifications perpetuated to this day. The old type of doctrinal preaching, which was argumentative and apologetic and often polemical, has of course vanished and a distinctively new type of didactic preaching has taken its place. The influence of other Christian communions, as already suggested, is seen in these changes. The liturgical churches have doubtless had their share in effecting the change. They have furnished a type of preaching that is more largely tributary to the interests of the worshipping assembly than was the old didactic type, and this influence has been felt in all our Protestant communions. The Methodist and Baptist churches have influenced the entire American Protestant pulpit in the interest of greater emotional fervor and have been leaders in successful effort to reach the hearts of the people. Revivals of religion, common to all so-called evangelical communions, have left behind them, as a permanent contribution to the pulpit, a more stirring and effective type of preaching. The preaching of the liberal sects, so called, particularly the Unitarian, has had its influence in the modification, for which all the churches of this country may well be grateful. Under this influence in part the rigors of the theology of a former day have been softened, and the more distinctively ethical quality in preaching has become prevalent in all churches.

The rhetorical character of American preaching has been modified by the literary culture of the age. All religious communions have felt its power. It would be difficult and it is unnecessary to attempt to trace all the influences that have developed this modified product. They are various and complex and occult. But the influence of prominent individual preachers, notably Henry Ward Beecher and

Horace Bushnell, are among the agencies that should not be forgotten. It is sufficient here merely to recall the fact that the old theological type has given place to an altogether different type of didactic preaching. The matter, tone, method, all are changed. But still the representative American preacher is a teacher and in some fair measure an intellectual leader of the people. The teaching elements in his preaching are, it may be justly claimed, more prominent, and from the intellectual point of view perhaps of a higher order, although it must be acknowledged more one-sidedly intellectual than those of the German and the English preacher. His product is less sentimental, less affectionate, than that of the German, less fervid and rhetorically brilliant than that of the Frenchman, less dignified and churchly than that of the Anglican, less Biblical, less sympathetic, and less evangelical than that of the English nonconformist. But in general it will hardly be questioned that it is more thoughtful and after its kind instructive. In a certain mental manliness the typical American preacher rarely finds a successful competitor, while it must be acknowledged that in spiritual fervor, in delicacy of feeling and sentiment, in moral searchingness, in evangelistic zeal, and in Biblical simplicity it is distinctly deficient and in all these aspects might be bettered.

Yet it is also true that his product is emotionally more vivacious, more concrete and suggestive, than that of a former period, has better literary form, speaks more copiously to the imagination, while it seeks to reach the mental and moral judgments and is less elaborate and logically coherent. Its public is less reflective, but not without a certain intellectual vivacity, and is responsive to pithy, pungent speech. The American preacher adapts himself to commercial and industrial communities, to men namely that do some thinking, but who think rapidly, and with increasing superficiality, who wish their preachers to think with corresponding rapidity, to speak as they think,

and not to get too far into their subjects. But doubtless it is still true that the average American audience respects the intelligence of the preacher and expects him to speak with a certain weight of authority that is inseparable from adequate intellectual training. The Protestant tradition of a learned ministry has undergone some modifications, but it has never lost its hold upon the churches, and American schools of theology, in all their efforts to adjust themselves to the demands of the age, never lose sight of the need of a thoroughly intelligent and well-trained ministry.

What change in the intellectual fibre of American preaching increasing efforts to adapt it to the mental conditions and needs of the so-called lower classes may yet be effected, it would be venturesome to undertake to predict. But at all events it is absolutely certain that it will be obliged to have respect to the needs of the intelligent portion of the community if it is to retain its influence over those upon whom the welfare of the community depends and if it is to perpetuate an intelligent type of religion.

It is a matter of record that those communions that have been most successful with the less educated and cultivated classes have seen the need of a more thoroughly educated and more fully equipped ministry, not only that they may reach the more intelligent and educated classes, but in order to do the work that is needed among those who have been regarded as their own special constituency. Not only the Puritant Protestant tradition, but the necessities of an inquiring, advancing, self-governing people, will require, still more in the future than in the past, although in modified form, that the preacher appeal to the intelligence of the people and promote it. It is a genuine American aspiration that the pulpit shall adjust itself to the culture of the age, and shall interpret Christianity broadly and rationally to a people advancing beyond all precedent in wealth and power, exposed to their corrupting influences, and facile in experiments that test the stability of its institutions.

And if it were no longer an aspiration of the people, all the more heavily would the responsibility weigh upon a prophetic ministry.

iii. In line with its intellectual virility, and as conditioning measurably its form, is the realistic and practical quality of American preaching. This is preëminently a product of American temperament and habit, which has been furthered by the experiences of American life. The American mind is a complex product, which it is difficult to analyze and whose sources it is difficult to trace. It is a composite into which enter many racial and national influences. But doubtless the strongest influence in the product is English and it is equally true that the strongest English influence is the Puritan. The old Puritan mind, which has been the most potent influence in the development of the nation, is still seen in what is best and most distinctively American. It is at once idealistic and realistic, speculative and practical, imaginative and judicial, at home with invisible realities, but no stranger to those that are visible and tangible. It was the idealistic and speculative quality of mind that found fullest homiletic development in the early history of the country. That the American mind has a gift for speculative thought and for philosophic investigation has been abundantly demonstrated. The independent development of theology in New England is proof of it. The founding of the nation is a proof of the American impulse to follow lofty ideals and to sacrifice for their realization. The existence of a great republic and of a free church based on the highest estimate of the value of the individual soul and on faith in the realities of Christian experience attests the venturesomeness of the Puritan imagination. It was this quality that emerged in the highly speculative character of the theology and of the preaching of the church in the early period of our history. It was this that gave to American preaching that philosophic note for which it has been

distinguished and which it has never wholly lost. But after all, the American mind is the English and not the German type of mind. And it is the objective, the realistic, the practical quality, that has had full and free development during the later period of our history. American thought in our day is rapid, not over profound, and above all practical. The conditions of American life have furthered the development of this type of thought. A mark of modern life in general, it is especially true in this country that everything in our day is utilized, put to work, pushed out into the domain of practical result, and made tributary to practical interests. Theology is less abstract and speculative than it was formerly. With ever increasing earnestness of desire and purpose the true preacher recognizes his vocation to adapt Christianity to the actual conditions of the people. Hence the prevailing tendency of the American preacher in interpreting Christianity to appeal to human experience. Hence a great extension of the ethical type of preaching, the application of Christianity as an ethical religion to the interests of all classes. Hence its missionary character. Hence the abandonment of the theological and dialectical type of preaching that appeals prevailingly to the understanding and furthers the doctrinal interest, a change from elaborate discussion to a more incisive and direct method of appeal to the sense of reality and to a more concrete suggestive, persuasive representation of truth — that addresses the practical faculties.

iv. Variety is another of the most prominent characteristics of American preaching, and this is in line with its practical adjustment to all classes and conditions of men. While there are traits that are common to many types of it, one of the most striking characteristics is that it so largely lacks traits that are common. The complex and the cosmopolitan character of American life necessitates this variety.

Sectional peculiarities, for example, are prominent.

Temperament, climate, education, political and social conditions, industrial and commercial life, religion, theological and ecclesiastical traditions, have all been in various ways tributary to the development of sectional types of preaching. We see this in a somewhat striking manner in the preaching of the southern section of the country. As compared with the preaching of the northern section, that of the southern is much more emotional in its rhetorical and oratorical qualities, much more effusive and demonstrative, less subject to the chastening influences of the modern literary spirit, less wide-reaching in its ethical purpose, less varied in its types and forms, anchored more closely to the doctrines and traditions of the churches, and less distinctly marked by intellectual deliberateness, independence, and virility. It is true that the south is undergoing great changes, — industrial, commercial, political, educational, literary, ecclesiastical, theological. It is interesting to note how these changes play into one another. As a result church life in general and the character of the preaching of the south are subjected to a slow process of modification. Preaching is becoming more distinctively modern in its character, and is illustrating in an interesting manner the irresistible influence of modern life upon the modern pulpit. But after all the great modifying influences in the life of our day are with the north. The great educational institutions are still here. Many southern names are indeed winning prominence and acceptance in literature, but the north is still the literary centre of the country and it has the stronger press. The education of the people is more comprehensive and more thorough. The intellectual training of its higher institutions is closer and broader and their culture more copious and generous. Theology has been more fully developed and has greatly broadened its scope. The manuscript sermon here has a stronger hold upon the preacher and upon the congregation. Preaching aggregates a larger amount of edifying thought

and is of a somewhat different literary type from that which would be commonly acceptable in the south. The northern pulpit has certainly been less hampered by dogmatic tradition and is more broadly and variously practical in its presentation of the truth. Various lines of secular development that open new objects for the application of the ethics of Christianity have been more complete and more varied in the north than in the south. Those pulpit problems of adjustment, especially to the practical needs of the industrial and commercial classes, have been less urgent there than here. The ethical type of preaching in general has in the south found nothing approximating the range it has found in the north. The southern pulpit was dominated by the slave power. Slavery is indeed extinct, but its effects still linger in the moral judgments of the people and in the moral quality of the work of the pulpit. Opposition to the slave power originated in connection with a great revival of the ethical spirit of Christianity to which the south was largely a stranger. This movement was felt as a tremendous power by the northern pulpit, and its influence under the leadership of men like Henry Ward Beecher, who was its most powerful pulpit representative and promoter, has been felt in all directions and in all spheres, and it still lingers in its various transformations.

Somewhat different mental habits disclose themselves in the preaching of the eastern and western sections of the country. It may be fairly questioned if the pulpit of the west has in general fully shared the intellectual independence that may be justly claimed as characteristic of the pulpit of the east, or if it is equally catholic in spirit and equally responsive to the thought movements of our time. That the pulpit of a free and manly people like that of the great west should not be hopelessly hampered by dogmatic tradition or hopelessly committed against all progress in religious thought, is of course natural, and it is certain that it is not the victim of such committal. But that the

so-called practical interest should dominate the intellectual or what has been called the speculative interest is also natural. That a people intellectually so alert and so intelligent in their judgments in all important matters, even when unreflective in their habits of mind and æsthetically crude, should demand something more than emotional fervor and sentimental gush in their preachers, and that they should insist upon pith and vivacity of thought and expression, is certainly a necessity. But that it should be the people of the west rather than of the east that discredit and antagonize the modern historic method and its results, that they should distrust theological innovations and should identify unfamiliar theological theories with unverified and unverifiable speculation, is not altogether unnatural, however unreasonable it may be. The prominence, then, of the intellectual quality in the preaching of the north, of the practical quality in that of the west, and of the emotional quality in that of the south may roughly, but of course inadequately, characterize their varieties of type. At any rate it is true that an enrichment of the spiritual, of the intellectual, and of the intellectual together with the ethical qualities in the preaching of the several sections of the country would mark a distinct improvement.

The increase of the foreign population is another condition of variety. The better class of immigrants perpetuate their own ecclesiastical institutions in this country, and the preaching which they support bears the diversified marks of race peculiarity and of religious, theological, and ecclesiastical training and culture. In so far as this preaching comes in foreign tongues it receives no perceptible influence from its environment and exerts no influence upon the preaching of the native churches. But in course of time, as this foreign population comes more completely under the influence of our common political institutions, common educational agencies, and a common language, its different methods of preaching, that now bear the

distinctive marks of their sources, will inevitably be modified and will also doubtless leave their influence upon the preaching of the native population. We already see this result in some measure, for example, in the preaching of the Protestant German churches in which the English language is used.

Denominational peculiarities yield other varieties. Sects in this country have in time past multiplied beyond all precedent. It is to be devoutly hoped, and indeed may be believed, that the process of multiplication has been permanently checked. A monarchical government and a national church set limits to the development of sects. In a democracy there are no assignable limits to such multiplication, save such as may be set by practical common sense, calculating ecclesiastical economy, broad culture, and a catholic spirit. Hitherto these safeguards have been in too large measure ineffective. Sectarianism has been one of the most potent influences in the production of homiletic variety. It is natural and necessary. Each sect has its own history, its own peculiar development, and its pulpit will of course bear, and for a long time retain, its own distinctive marks. Homiletic peculiarities are inherent in their origin and development. But there is much less that is individualistic and characteristic in the preaching of the different Protestant denominations than formerly. In the less educated communities the sectarian mark still lingers. In fact in all communities where Protestantism has had free development we still have the rationalistic, the confessional, the ethical, the sentimental, and emotional types of preaching, as conditioned by the historic development of the different religious bodies, and American denominational preaching still perpetuates itself in diversities of type. But there are in this country exceptionally strong interactionary agencies that are mutually modifying, and the movements of the age in the direction of a more catholic, compre-

hensive, and cosmopolitan spirit result in approximate unity of type.

Diversity of classes and of interests is another condition of variety. So long as the population of the country was limited, scattered, and homogeneous, as in the early period, so long as industrial and commercial life, which tends to the diversification of employments, the multiplication of classes, and the division of interests, was undeveloped, and so long as facilities of communication, which promote industrial and commercial development and crowd the centres of population, were lacking, there was less that evokes variety in the work of the preacher. The preaching of that early day, which scarcely recognized the need of variety and was subject to no necessity with respect to its production, met the wants of a homogeneous population. The people had time to reflect, were trained to it, and were accustomed to interest themselves in the problems of religion and of theology as well. The doctrinal sermon was, therefore, of course the chief thing in demand, and it at once expressed and promoted the reflective and argumentative habits of the people. It was of the pastoral order and aimed at edification by indoctrination. The evangelistic sermon always had a strong doctrinal basis. It was not generally called evangelistic, but in accordance with the prevailing conceptions of the needs of the religious life, it often took the form of the revival sermon and was so designated, just as in our day, in accordance with our habit of fixing upon new names for suggesting new methods of doing old things, we call it, after the manner of German and English preachers, the "mission" sermon. The ethical sermon was never differentiated from the doctrinal. It consisted of the practical application of doctrinal theology. It was limited in its range. Its most characteristic form, as an ethical product, was that of the ethico-political discussion of public questions on special occasions. In the vast increase and diversification of the

population, crowded as it is largely into the great industrial and commercial centres, and distributed over vast areas of territory, in the great multiplication of industries and occupations through invention and facilities of communication, in the modification and enlargement of our educational institutions, in the changed and enlarged scope of our political life, all conditioning a diversified population with diversified needs, new and strange exactions upon the preacher have arisen. New tastes and habits and changed attitudes towards the church and religion have to be met. Preaching has greater variety because the needs to be met are more various. The old doctrinal sermon has wholly disappeared, the didactic sermon is less hampered by traditional teaching or by traditional homiletic methods, and is a different rhetorical product. The pastoral sermon ranges over a wider field and covers a wider circle of interests. It aims at the promotion of the missionary life of the church in its manifold forms. The evangelistic sermon has a more varied character, dealing not only with greater diversities of population, from the noncovenanted churchgoer in our more enlightened and cultivated communities to the half barbarous negroes of the south and the wholly barbarous denizens of the city slums, gathering into its scope greater varieties of evangelistic interest, taking a greater variety of evangelistic forms, and handling a greater variety of evangelistic motives. The ethical sermon, which was formerly a species of rationalistic moralizing, against which there was strong prejudice in evangelical circles, or was a practical inculcation of theological teachings, against which equally strong rationalistic prejudice has reacted, may almost be called in our day a new type of preaching and has found an almost unlimited field. The parenetic or paracletic sermon has its own modifications and enlargements in the changed conditions of modern life, which, while they increase the external resources of comfort and happiness, multiply and intensify the sorrows and

dissatisfactions of human existence. In a better and fuller knowledge of the Bible, the Biblical sermon has enlarged and enriched itself, and in this miscellaneousness of modern life the structural and rhetorical or literary form of the sermon partakes of the same general tendency to variety. And all this involves a very marked development of what is personal and peculiar in individual preachers. This note of individuality, this assertion of freedom for the homiletic personality, is itself one of the distinguishing features of American preaching. In no other pulpit in Christendom probably has the homiletic personality such free range.

By reason of this miscellaneousness and variety in American life, it is evident also that American preaching must cover a very large range of subjects. Into no other pulpit are there introduced subjects of such wide-reaching and varying import. To its independent, democratic spirit almost nothing is foreign. And all this, it is evident, must condition an objective, concrete, realistic quality, for it must deal with what is actual, deal with realities as the preacher finds them, and it must reach its end by the use of means that are adjusted to those ends and to the subjects with which it deals. Beneath all these diversities and varieties we may detect under the pressure of the forces of modern life, and especially under movements towards ecclesiastical confederation, an approximate unity of homiletic type. But these multifold homiletic schools will long abide and the conditions that necessitate them will continue to counterwork successful efforts in the interest of ecclesiastical consolidation.

II.

But let us come now into closer touch with some of the different schools of American preaching, which are represented by the more prominent ecclesiastical communions

and with a few of their individual preachers. It is a wide and fertile field, but it must be traversed hastily and its wealth disclosed inadequately.

i. The preaching of the Congregational churches has been a dominant theological as well as religious and moral influence in this country. It doubtless does not hold the place it once held, but it is still felt as an intelligent religious force in the sisterhood of Protestant communions and in the larger world without. Congregationalism is developed Protestantism. It rejoices in a free and aggressive pulpit. In the responsiveness of this free spirit, its homiletic product has been subject to a succession of rapid changes. Some of these changes that stand in relatively close connection with the preaching of our own day may be traced back to the period of Lyman Beecher. He was himself perhaps the most prominent pioneer or at least representative in his day of a new type of preaching to which the Congregational churches have become heirs. It was the period of the Unitarian controversy. The reaction of Unitarianism against orthodoxy so called was vigorous, not to say bitter and unrelenting. The ultimate value of this reaction against Calvinistic orthodoxy as it has been held by the churches cannot be questioned. But it had allied itself with the spirit of negation and of disintegration that was current in the eighteenth century. In its tone it was often arrogant and in its method destructive. But it did effective work. Men of clear vision, like Dr. Beecher, in the Congregational and Presbyterian churches, saw that there must be a modification in theology. Many agencies, besides the Unitarian reaction, were proving tributary to it. But it was seen too that religion cannot thrive upon a basis of criticism and negation. The religious life of the churches must be refreshed, and their moral life must be developed. Religious truth must be made tributary to piety, and a more fully developed spiritual life must become the inspiration of their moral life.

The leading men who set themselves against the Unitarian movement were many of them what had been previously called "new-light men." Such was Dr. Beecher. It is an interesting and significant fact, and it is a fact, that in times of theological and religious emergency it is often the "new-light man" that comes to the front and rescues the church by modifying an unpreachable theology and by evoking the religious and moral instincts of the Christian life. In these theological as well as religious changes Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor of Yale Divinity School was a potent influence.

The modifications introduced were all in the direction of a larger and more Christian conception of the character of God and of the nature of man, and were tributary to a more worthy estimate of human freedom and responsibility. In the pulpit of the Congregational churches, Dr. Beecher was the most prominent representative of this movement. For his theology he was indebted particularly to Dr. Taylor, whose long-time friend he was and beside whom, as he desired, he was at last laid at rest in the old burial ground in New Haven. Dr. Beecher lacked the speculative mind of the typical theologian. He had the spirit, the habit and the equipment of the preacher, and was perhaps the most effective public speaker of his day. He was a man of striking personality. Traces of it are found in his illustrious family, particularly in his son Henry Ward, who was unquestionably the most gifted preacher this country has produced, and in the judgment of no less a man than the late Dr. R. W. Dale the greatest preacher of the Christian church.

Dr. Beecher's gifts were practical. He had a genuine scent for reality, and readily detected the practical bearings of religious truth. With tremendous force of will, so essential to the art of persuasion, intensity of emotion, and vivid imagination there were associated the presence, the voice, and many of the external appointments of the pulpit

orator. With such equipment he was the man for his time. With the skill and force of an advocate he defended the doctrines of a moderate Calvinism and succeeded in persuading the churches that they were still tenable, and that they had been caricatured by their antagonists. Like most preachers of his day he was a vigorous polemist, snuffing the battle from afar and eager as a war horse for the fray, confident that if he could only come into close quarters with men like Lord Byron, or any other theological reprobate, in argument and appeal, he would not fail to win him to his theology and religion. But he preached positively and concentrated his religious teachings upon the work of promoting a revival of the religious life, and it was precisely this quickened spiritual life of the churches that checked the reactionary movement and ultimately to a large extent modified its character. Dr. Beecher's preaching was prevailingly doctrinal in substance, but evangelistic and ethical in aim. The truth was presented for the most part in nontechnical, popular language. The formal, excessively elaborate, and stereotyped method of a former period was rejected, and in his hands and under his influence and that of men like minded, preaching became more persuasive. The ethical aspects of Christianity, which Unitarianism had, in its own way, already accentuated, were more fully developed. Religion as a subjective experience and as faith in objective truth still held its supremacy, but it was more closely allied with Christian morality and penetrated practical life more deeply and pervasively than in former periods. In many branches of moral reform Dr. Beecher was a pioneer. He was among the first to enter the field against intemperance, slavery, and duelling. His discourses on intemperance were widely influential in their day, the discourse on duelling, occasioned by the death of Alexander Hamilton, which he regarded as his most effective sermon, was hardly less tributary to its practical object, and in his attitude

towards the slave system, he was the forerunner of his more illustrious son and his daughter, Mrs. Stowe. Three large volumes contain his chief homiletic products. The theological discourses, of which there are many, may almost be said to have furnished for his day a new type of doctrinal preaching. It is their aim to vindicate the practical value of theologic truth. In line with the homiletic habits of his day, the order of thought is well defined, clear, and shaped with reference to cumulative effects, but in literary style his preaching is much more direct and forceful, racy and pungent, than was common at that time and has an imaginative touch that illuminates the truth and animates the hearer.

Modifications in teaching and in homiletic spirit and method are seen much more conspicuously in Henry Ward Beecher, and by him homiletic movements already started are much farther advanced. He perpetuated the evangelistic spirit of his father, he pushed the ethical type of preaching to an extreme it had never reached before, and he carried evangelical Christianity over into alliance with the doctrine of evolution and during the last years of his life gave new illustration of the popular method of pulpit teaching. Mr. Beecher's significance for the American pulpit has already been elsewhere discussed by the writer.[1] But it may again be said that unique and inimitable as preacher though he was, the influence which he exerted upon the preaching of the Congregational churches not only, but upon all the Protestant churches of the country and upon many in other lands, has not been surpassed by any man.

Pastoral edification and moral incentive have doubtless, on the whole, been the leading characteristics of the preaching of Congregationalism. But the evangelistic spirit that gave character to the movement above mentioned in the early part of the last century lingered for a considerable

[1] "Representative Modern Preachers," Ch. III.

time with the churches, and the gifts of the pastoral "missioner" were well cultivated. Until within the last generation most Congregational ministers have been pastoral evangelists. Our limits permit reference to only two or three preachers in whom evangelistic gifts were prominent and those with whom the writer is especially familiar.

Dr. Charles G. Finney, founder of Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York, and subsequently president of Oberlin College, was the most widely known and, up to the time of Mr. Moody, the most successful of the recent evangelistic preachers of this country. His evangelism had a strong ethical note of a sort, and was due to the austere ethical quality of his theology and to the peculiarities of his early religious experiences. By perpetual insistence upon the freedom of the will and upon human responsibility in regeneration and conversion, Calvinism in his hands was still further modified along the line in which it was already moving. He exacted of his converts a strongly ascetic life of unselfish Christian character. In his evangelistic methods he was austere, uncompromising, often rude and revolutionary. Refinement and delicacy of Christian feeling and sentiment seemingly had no place in his estimate of Christian character, and to the cultured grace of Christian courtesy he was something of a stranger. His spirit and method were Judaistic. He had the greatness of John the Baptist, not the greatness of him who is willing to be least in the kingdom of grace. But no "missioner" of his day reached his measure of subduing power. His mind was keenly discriminating and analytical, sharply logical and strongly argumentative, his style vigorously, not to say rudely, direct and pungent, his power over the conscience was amazing, and his methods of exposition not less than his methods of moral insistence and inculcation were singularly tributary to this power. In his hands the robust moral and intellectual elements of religion were made prominent. He pushed the sturdy

masculine aspects of Christianity upon thinking minds and won them. His lectures on revivals disclose the spirit and method of his evangelism. His lectures on theology at Oberlin College disclose his doctrinal system, and his "Sermons on Important Subjects" illustrate his homiletic methods. In intellectual discrimination, logical coherence, cumulative force, incisive appeal to the moral sense, and remorseless insistence upon the one supreme point in hand, he was, in his day, matchless. That the churches have never since seen his equal is matter for lament. That they have not seen his counterpart we need not regret.

Massachusetts, always the centre of Congregationalism, has led the van in a succession of gifted preachers, strong not only in intellectual leadership and moral incentive, but in pastoral evangelism. It is almost a reproach to pass so many notable men in silence. But Dr. Edward N. Kirk, for thirty years pastor of Mt. Vernon Church, Boston, should be remembered as perpetuating the pastoral evangelism of the churches of a former generation. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he was not a strong thinker, nor a man of theological mind, nor a representative of the choicest literary culture of his day. But he was a most gifted and graceful popular preacher. The French homiletic and rhetorical style, of which he was a diligent student, strongly attracted him, and disclosed its influence in his unction, pathos, and clear-cut, crisp, epigrammatic diction. He had all the appointments of the popular pulpit orator, the mental and emotional gifts, the imposing presence, and the resonant voice, and behind all the manly, consecrated purpose to make his message persuasive. His lectures on revivals illustrate his evangelistic methods, his lectures on the Parables suggest his pastoral didactic gifts, and two volumes of sermons of a miscellaneous character disclose the variety of his homiletic work.

Professor George Shepard, of Bangor Theological Semi-

nary, had in his day no superior in New England as a pulpit orator. Although prevailingly a pastoral teacher and guide in his exposition and application of evangelical doctrine, which was of the New England type of his day, and in his inculcation of a strong and beneficent Christian life, his evangelistic instincts and interests were pronounced, and some of his sermons, too few of which are found in the one volume, which unhappily is all that remains to us, and particularly the one entitled "Ye will not come to Me," illustrate his evangelistic spirit and method. During periods of religious revival his preaching reached a great height of evangelistic power. Probably no preacher of his day handled the manuscript in this type of preaching with an effectiveness comparable with his. He illustrates the futility of dogmatizing against the use of the manuscript, even in the evangelistic type of preaching. He dealt with the commonplaces of the evangelical faith, which was the moderate Calvinism of his day. His thought was clear and strong, but without novelties, and of itself not particularly stimulating in its suggestiveness. He was not a theological thinker, like his distinguished colleague, Dr. Samuel Harris, who was both theologian and preacher of an exceptional mark. Dr. Shepard was a most valuable lecturer upon the preacher's work, and a most helpful critic and a far better exemplar than either lecturer or critic. He had the physical personality of an orator, a strong and manly frame, a countenance suggestive of modesty and dignity and of seriousness and force, and which, in the inspiration of a great emotion, caught from a great theme and from commerce with the invisible world, beamed in benignity like the face of an angel. His voice was strong, yet musical, capable of terrific explosions as of thunder power, but winsome too in its tones of gentleness, and he used it with a master's skill which lacked no element of naturalness and simplicity. He was the Giant Great Heart of the churches of Maine. His sermons had

the strength of closely compacted unity of thought and the order was clear and natural after the most approved method, but never stereotyped. His diction was perhaps the chief attraction. It was more massive and cogent than his thought. He knew, as no man of his day knew, how to swing the short compact sentence. In Anglo-Saxon concentration and strength he was not excelled. The style is a valuable study, and one is not surprised that one of the most gifted preachers of Boston, who not long since died, was accustomed frequently to read Dr. Shepard's sermons for the stimulus of their compact diction. Dr. Shepard's oratory was not of the old-fashioned Ciceronian or Johnsonian style. Yet in the subjective, reflective, analytic tendencies of our day, it seems to have passed into desuetude. But it may be questioned if the pulpit of our day be not the poorer because preachers of his type have left no successors behind to do a work like theirs in a way that is consonant with our needs.

Andover Theological Seminary has made notable contributions to the preaching of the Congregational churches of New England and of the country at large. Its various theological modifications, whether of a later or an earlier day, are in line, and all alike in line, with the traditional freedom of the Congregational spirit. It was with honest pride that Professor Park could claim that Andover had produced a type of theology whose chief excellence was that it could be preached. This theology, doubtless, was preached in its day with power. It was made tributary to evangelistic interests and to the intellectual and moral elevation of the churches, and its literary and rhetorical qualities were of a very high order. In intellectual elevation, in moral force, and in literary elegance and rhetorical dignity and grace, as illustrated by Professor Phelps and especially by Professor Park, and by large numbers of preachers that have been sent out from under their shaping hands, Andover preaching is to be spoken of in terms of

admiration. But in its palmiest days it was often questioned whether it were a type of preaching available for the man of average endowment and whether even in ablest hands it were adapted to the best work of the pulpit. It is certain that in our own day it could not readily be adjusted to the evangelistic or ethical interests of the churches, and its homiletic and rhetorical qualities would not meet their needs. Its defect was its overelaborateness. It was too intellectual, too theological, too artistic, and too defective in simplicity, spontaneity, and directness.

Professor Phelps' lectures on homiletics were the product of an accepted theory of homiletic elaboration. They belong to a type of preaching that has passed, and in fact represent a type that is too elaborate for the best uses at any time. The subject is overloaded. No young preacher in our day could appropriate and assimilate the prodigious amount of material that is crowded into the discussion. For a mature student, or for one who has made considerable head in mastering his art, "The Theory of Preaching" may be of value. But for the novice it is bewildering. The career of this great institution has been a brilliant one, and it has been a power for good in this country. It has dignified and simplified theology. It has dignified the preacher's work. But the older Andover has not always been true to the demands of theological progress, nor has its preaching always been most successfully tributary to the evangelistic and to the moral interests of the churches. It has produced a theology. But to develop a theology is not necessarily to furnish a message. The great theologian of Andover believed in great sermons. The beginner should have three months in which to prepare his sermon. He should write and rewrite it again and again and again. It should be an elaborate product, conceived and fashioned according to the highest standards of homiletic art. All this lessened the significance of the sermon as an instrument and made it

an end. After a pastorate of two years Professor Park had thirty sermons. They were frequently rewritten, and two that belong to that early period are among the most impressive he ever preached.

But estimated from the intellectual and rhetorical points of view, as related to the period to which Professor Park belonged, to the intelligence and culture of the churches to which he was accustomed to preach, and to the exceptional class of students that he was accustomed to teach, our admiration for his preaching need not be restricted. As a theologian and metaphysician he stands in the first line, and according to his type he was one of the most powerful preachers that have ever been given to the churches of this country. He was, of course, an occasional preacher and the preacher for an exceptional class of men, and as such one questions whether, after all, he were not more of a preacher than theologian. One almost laments that he ever turned aside from practical theology, in some departments of which he had shown such aptitude. One queries if his work in the practical would not have lived longer than his work in the speculative sphere of theology. What is left to the general public of Professor Park's work is chiefly his sermons, and articles that disclose his gifts for the department of homiletics. His students have perpetuated the traditions of a great theologian, but his theology has not been published. The public must rely upon his sermons for their impressions of his transcendant power. No one can read those two volumes and the occasional sermons that are otherwise preserved without a feeling of regret that this great rhetorician and orator had not turned his great gifts more fully toward the pulpit and had not left the world a completer illustration of that pulpit power which was so masterful. In keenness of intellectual discrimination, in subtle power of analysis, in largeness of mental scope, in elevation of thought and sentiment, in the stately moral dignity that hovered

above his occasional wit and sarcasm, in dignified and cogent rhetoric, in felicity of illustration, in a certain martial movement toward its appointed goal, and in a certain sublimity of oratorical force, Professor's Park's preaching was mightily impressive.

And yet it may be confessed that the more recent type of Congregational preaching, with its broader, simpler, and more realistic theology, its wider ethical comprehensiveness, its more earnest and catholic humanity, its more direct and practical touch with all spheres of human life, and its simpler homiletic method and rhetorical style, is better adapted to the conditions and needs of our age than the preaching of Professor Park and the Andover school to the conditions and needs of the former period, and one even questions whether preaching like that of our time might not have met wants that were then not fully met. One questions whether the preaching of our day, when once it fully understands itself, gets its bearings, and knows its possibilities, may not adjust itself even to evangelistic interests as fully, if not more fully, than the preaching of Andover's golden age.

In many of his homiletic qualities Dr. Richard S. Storrs was allied with the Andover school of Professor Park, and he may be called its most illustrious pastoral preacher. He was for half a century pastor of Pilgrim Church, Brooklyn, and shared with Mr. Beecher the honors of pulpit primacy in that city of distinguished preachers. Mr. Beecher was an orator, but we somehow think of him as the great preacher rather than orator. Dr. Storrs was a preacher and a preacher of rare gifts, but one somehow thinks of him as preëminently a great pulpit orator. In highly trained and cultivated rhetorical and elocutionary gifts Dr. Storrs surpassed his great contemporary. In his emotional gifts, in his ardent sympathies, in persuasive and expository qualities, Mr. Beecher was Dr. Storrs' superior. In the Pilgrim Church orator the Andover

tradition of homiletic and rhetorical elaborateness was perpetuated. His discourses were pulpit orations, which on special occasions matched the high art of the classical French preachers. They lacked the directness, the simplicity, the colloquial homeliness and peculiar penetrating power of Mr. Beecher's discourses. In theology he belonged to the New England school with which Andover was identified, and its chief features he held apparently to the end. It seems to have been a type of theology that easily lent itself to the dignified, elevated, serious, and elaborate pulpit product. To the quality of subject-matter and to its organization in homiletic form the style of rhetoric and oratory seemed thoroughly appropriate. Dr. Storrs was a historical student, and one imagines that the broad scope of his historic studies may also have been tributary in the homiletic product to the stately movement of his thought and even to the type of his rhetoric and oratory. It was the lofty and ornate style that never wholly succeeded in adjusting itself to the businesslike colloquial directness that is most acceptable in our day. But after its kind it was superb, and as in his day he had no equal in it, so in ours he has no successor who is his counterpart. It was a highly graphic, pictorial, and gorgeously illustrative type of rhetoric. He had the distinguished personal presence and the clarion voice of the orator, and as a platform speaker, whose services were in demand on great occasions, he was unmatched. In early years he used the manuscript, to which at that time his style of preaching seemed well suited. But in later years he followed the extemporaneous method, which was, in fact, still better suited to his type of preaching and in its exactness and elegance it was hardly differentiable from the best manuscript product and in oratorical effects was far superior. As a platform speaker he was trained to perfect self-command. With consummate art he held his oratory in such subjection that he could,

with apparent perfect ease, pass from the lofty to the medium or even common colloquial style. His work on extemporaneous preaching gives us an insight into his own method, and the discourses that remain to us faithfully illustrate the ornateness and elaborateness of his preaching.

In the same general school of highly rhetorical preachers, but with distinct points of differentiation, may be classed Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus of Chicago. In his theological point of view he is apparently in closer alliance with the more aggressive and progressive school of Congregational preachers. His style of preaching is much more impassioned, both in rhetoric and oratory, than that of Dr. Storrs, and one may venture to suggest that he discloses the beneficent results of early nurture in the Methodist church. His familiarity with poetic literature and his own aptitude for poetic expression are more marked, and he may be called much more of a rhetorician than orator. But while it is in close touch with the thought of our own time, and adjusts itself to present needs and conditions, there is a certain homiletic elaborateness in his preaching, a certain largeness of range in the sweep of his thought, a stateliness and rhetorical exuberance, a dramatic intensity and a graphic descriptiveness, that remind us of the exalted style of preaching which we associate with a former period. In those qualities of quiet philosophic reflection, of facile, offhand, homiletic suggestion, and of colloquial simplicity, compactness, and directness of diction, which characterize much of the preaching of our day, Dr. Gunsaulus does not seem to be at home. The recent volume of discourses, entitled "Paths to Power," illustrates his dominant tendencies as a rhetorician. They were indeed occasional discourses which justify exceptional thoroughness and range of discussion. They deal with large themes which appropriately solicit homiletic and rhetorical elaboration and were delivered to large and exceptionally intelligent assemblies, that naturally

evoke the rhetorical and oratorical impulse. It is probable that Dr. Gunsaulus' ordinary pastoral discourses may have a brevity, an immediateness, and a subdued rhetorical style that are not found here. Of this the general public that is unfamiliar with his ordinary preaching cannot judge. And yet one surmises that it would be difficult for Dr. Gunsaulus, even on ordinary occasions, to speak otherwise than in the general manner of these most eloquent discourses. For the intellectual necessity of grappling with large themes, and of following wide-ranging courses of thought and the impulse of the poet, the dramatist, the rhetorician, and the orator, seem to dominate him. In these lofty, wide-reaching, and swift-rushing discourses we clearly have Dr. Gunsaulus at his best, and those surely who have come under the influence of his splendid eloquence will not reproach him for not being what he is not.

The influence of Dr. Horace Bushnell,[1] with respect to general theological point of view, and measurably with respect to rhetorical form, upon the generation of Congregational preachers that is fast passing away, and more remotely and indirectly upon the generation that now holds the field, has been decisive and permanent. It is a silent influence, of which many preachers are unconscious or not more than half conscious, but for which no man can be ungrateful when once he has awakened to the recognition of it. As a theological thinker Bushnell's influence upon the preachers of our day has been stronger than his homiletic influence. His careful, orderly, clear-cut, logical, cumulative, homiletic method is not altogether in line with the offhand homiletic method of our day. A type of rhetoric much more negligé and colloquial than Bushnell's is current. Theological, philosophical, critical, and literary sources, moreover, which were not accessible to Dr. Bushnell, are open to the preachers of our day in

[1] See chapter on Bushnell in "Representative Modern Preachers."

rich abundance, and these agencies, while they have in a sort perpetuated his influence, have also modified it. All these agencies that have come to the front are seen in the substance of the preaching of our day in Congregational circles, and the free and easy rhetoric and oratory of a democratic age is everywhere apparent. The ethical element in the preaching of the Congregational churches is prominent, and one is not infrequently forced to the confession that intellectual and ethical interests dominate those that are spiritual. It is a serious defect of much of the preaching of these churches that a type of theology which claims to be, and is, in line with intellectual and moral needs, should fail so largely to stimulate evangelistic effort and to meet the needs of the churches as commissioned evangelistic agencies. What calls itself "the new theology" fails to satisfy old wants. In this regard it is inferior to the preaching of English Congregationalism. A type of theology that would command the intelligent allegiance of men must vindicate itself by its power to win them in personal allegiance to Christ from sin to lives of holiness and righteousness. In all this it has adequate possibilities. It needs but the touch of conscious vocation in the preacher to initiate a new era of evangelism, as well as of spiritual edification and of moral incentive.

Prominent in the new generation of Congregational preachers, and foremost in the first line, is Dr. George A. Gordon of the Old South Church of Boston. Although belonging to a distinctly different school of preachers, he is, in the attention, interest, and respect which his preaching commands from the intelligent public of Boston, in some large and true sense the successor of Phillips Brooks. He is a theological and philosophical thinker of the modern type, and his preaching reaches a high level of intellectual power without announcing or obtruding itself in a one-sided manner. It is the constructive, philosophical, theological, and ethical, rather than the critical interest

that dominates his preaching. He is at home with the fundamental aspects of all subjects touched by him. The ease with which he grasps them and the facility with which he illustratively unfolds them have a rallying and stimulating power upon all intelligent hearers. The exaltation of the intellectual aspects of religion is prominent in his preaching. But all this is made definitely tributary to the spiritual life of men and to their larger moral interests. The ease, the affluence, the noble simplicity, the genuine sincerity, directness, forcefulness, and not infrequent poetic elegance of his speech and the manly straightforwardness of his deliverance are an effective carrying power for thoughts and emotions and moral impulses that must penetrate deeply the life of those to whom he ministers.

ii. The contributions made by Unitarianism to the preaching of this country, to which reference has already been made, have been permanent because the influences and agencies that wrought in their production have been permanent. They have worked specifically and directly through the Unitarian movement and have reached far beyond its own bounds into other communions. We may not be able to concede all that has been claimed for it as a modifying and liberalizing agency in the theology of the modern pulpit. There are sources of theological emancipation that are entirely independent of Unitarianism and that reach directly all Protestant churches. These influences are far more potent than any that centre in any one Christian communion, however thoroughly it may have been penetrated by them. But it would be ungracious and futile to attempt to minimize the strength of the Unitarian movement in this regard, and to attempt to undervalue other and more important contributions which it has made to the modern pulpit would be still more discreditable and useless. As represented by Dr. Channing it was not the production of a theology which could be called liberal that was the chief interest of the Unitarian

movement. Other interests were of far more significance, and the broadening of the theological basis was only one of their consequences.

Its intellectual aspect was not the most fundamental, but it was the most obtrusive. It was an assertion of the rights of reason in religion. It pressed the claims of the intellectual element in religion and involved distrust of and dissatisfaction with its traditional philosophical defences. Its advocates were preëminently intellectual men, and Channing was accepted as their intellectual leader. Calvinism was attacked as an irrational system. But as a rational movement it was critical rather than constructive. It had no faith in or tolerance of effort at accurate statements of theological beliefs. It is a little singular that a movement preëminently in the interest of the intellectual aspects of religion should have been content to abide with negations. Dr. Channing, like most of his successors, objected to creeds. The creeds of the Calvinistic churches were of course the chief object of attack. But creeds as such of whatever sort were antagonized. Dr. Channing maintained that the very dimensions of religious truth rendered them incapable of formulation. But his chief objections were moral. They foster insincerity. They promote controversy. They substitute abstract statements for concrete realities. These objections may be valid as against many of the historic creeds. But they are not as of necessity valid against creeds as such.

Defective, however, as this intellectual reaction may have been, its critical value must be acknowledged, for it asserted with permanent results the rights of religious intelligence.

But Dr. Channing's reaction against Calvinistic orthodoxy was based also on distinctively religious grounds. He was himself a man of profoundly religious nature. He was even more solicitous for the interests of Christian piety than for those of Christian intelligence. His religious

needs were not met by the traditional theology of his day. He laid much stress upon the religious factor in the development of the intellectual life, and he called not only for a better type of moral science than the orthodoxy of his day furnished but for a more distinctively spiritual philosophy and for a genuinely spiritual life. It cannot be denied that Unitarianism has fostered a religion of reverence, of communion with the Father of spirits, of conscientiousness, of consecrated devotion to the cause of truth, a religion of trust and of love for God and man. Upon these aspects of religion its pulpit has laid much stress. Its type of religious feeling and sentiment has not been adequate to the demands of the Christian life and has not kept it in touch with other communions. But it is certain that in our day it finds a larger place for the religion of feeling and sentiment and a larger place for the religious imagination than was found in its old rationalistic type, and it would be a serious wrong to deny that the preaching of Unitarianism has made valuable contributions to the religious life of the churches.

But the revolt of Unitarianism was fundamentally ethical as well as religious and intellectual. It was in fact against the moral aspects of Calvinism that Dr. Channing especially reacted, and the ethical elements of religion have been strongly accentuated by all his successors. It was a movement in the direction of moral reform. No class of men in this country have been so thoroughly committed to the interests of public morality and none have been so reliable in their devotion to all great questions of personal and civic righteousness and to all great questions of human philanthropy as the ministers of the Unitarian church.

The Unitarian movement was also associated with a new literary development and became the patron and advocate of a higher type of literary culture and of a better literary quality in the work of the pulpit. Dr. Channing was the most distinctive representative of this movement.

He perhaps laid undue stress upon the intellectual and æsthetic influence of literature in the elevation of human character. He had a good deal to say about the careful education and culture, especially of the superior minds of the nation and about the importance of keeping them at the front. It is chiefly through this higher class of educated and cultivated minds that the world is to be bettered. This was practically the advocacy of an educated aristocracy, a literary aristocracy. The world has seen what literature as such cannot do. It has seen also what of evil literature of a certain type can do. It has especially seen the inadequacy in the realm of religious and ecclesiastical life of a cultivated intellectual aristocracy such as is represented by the Unitarian church. There can be no doubt, however, that the literary aspect of the Unitarian movement has been highly beneficial in many ways and that this influence has been felt in other Christian communions.

Dr. Channing justly criticised the stilted literary style that was prevalent in his day. It was artificially ornate. It was overelaborate and stereotyped, and its diction was remote from ordinary human life. It was defective in simplicity and naturalness. It was the highly respectable dress-parade style and it needed reform. Channing cultivated a modest style, and he did it from moral as well as æsthetic considerations. It was somewhat diffuse. It knew how to be commonplace sometimes, and was more elaborate than the style that became prominent later on. But we have the beginnings here of a better literary style for the American pulpit. Dr. Lyman Beecher shared this new literary spirit. But Dr. Channing had a more complete literary equipment, and Unitarianism has done more probably than any other religious body to elevate the literary standards of the American pulpit in their intellectual and æsthetic aspects. Harvard University has been a potent influence in this behalf.

A later type of Unitarian preaching appears in Theodore

Parker. He would not be acknowledged as in all respects the representative modern preacher of his school. His method was too destructive, too belligerent, too extravagantly rhetorical. In these respects his following has been limited. But the chief influences that made themselves manifest in his preaching appear also in modified form in our own day, and in all these fundamental aspects his own personal influence has not been without significance. Parker found the already accomplished results of the Unitarian movement in its philosophical and critical aspects unsatisfactory and inadequate. Channing had glimpses of a new philosophical basis for theology, but had not the requisite equipment for working it out. But in Parker's early student days the great German philosophical thinkers were beginning to make themselves felt among English-speaking people, especially Kant, Hegel, Schelling, and Schleiermacher. They opened visions of a new philosophic basis for theology. Parker, who was a competent German scholar, knew most of these men at first hand. The transcendental philosophy of Emerson and Carlyle, in accordance with which religion was conceived as the intuition of the divine in and by the human, was of German origin. Parker accepted this transcendental idealism and was perhaps the first prominent preacher, after Emerson, in the United States, to do so. He became the advocate of a religion which is the immediate intuition of God and of all forms of religious truth. It is an intuition that brings the immediate knowledge of religious realities and which can therefore dispense with the external media of revelation. In this way the supernaturalism of Christianity was eliminated. Parker was also one of the first if not the first preacher in the United States to familiarize himself with Strauss' "Leben Jesu." With modifications, he adopted Strauss' mythical theory. The Hegelian position of Strauss that the Absolute cannot reveal himself in a human finite personality, Parker ap-

parently accepted, and this involved his committal to belief in the simple humanity of Jesus, and a denial of anything in Him that is divine save in the sense that the human is divine. This strictly naturalistic position as regards Christianity and the person of Christ is a new phase of the Unitarian movement of which Parker was the pioneer.

He was a man of rare genius, an eager student, a competent scholar, a brilliant rhetorician, of a sensitive conscience and of a rude Yankee honesty, of great religious susceptibility, of a restless, radical mind, and not without great intellectual ambitions. He was a man of colossal emotions and of most ardent human sympathies. He loved his fellow-men with a genuine human love and wept when they spoke well of him. His reverence and love for God are disclosed in his public prayers, which for elevation and tenderness of human feeling and felicity of literary expression are among the choicest in all liturgical literature. He was a Puritan of the Puritans, but in modern form. All the intellectual robustness and independence, moral intensity, resolution and integrity, high spiritual and poetic susceptibility, that belong to the best Puritan stock were in him. But he was a man of sharp and unbridled tongue. As a satirist he perhaps had no equal in his day. His address upon the death of Daniel Webster has been called the best specimen of sarcasm in the English language since Shakespeare's address of Mark Antony in Julius Cæsar. German and English romanticism appealed to, evoked, and developed his native literary and rhetorical instincts, and the influence of it is seen in the exuberance and extravagance of his literary style. As an instrument in turning his philosophic idealism and his radical Biblical criticism against the orthodoxy as well as the timid liberalism of his day it was tremendously effective. He appeared at a stormy period in American history and his hot rhetoric was turned with still greater effectiveness against the moral evils of his time. He was

an iconoclast. He was radical, uncompromising, merciless, in his handling of antagonists, and lacked the qualities of a Christian gentleman. No one will question his great abilities or the genuineness of his philanthropy or the wealth of his human sympathy, and he doubtless had an important message for his age. But it is a great pity that such splendid powers should not have been devoted to a more constructive and a more reasonable method of theological teaching, and to a less fiercely pugnacious method of moral conflict.

His sermons, which, after their kind, are masterpieces in vigorous grasp of thought, orderly movement, and powerful rhetoric, are a valuable study. But they are an admonition against the polemic method, an admonition to which happily the best Unitarian preachers of our day have given heed. For we find a decided change in this regard in the preaching even of such stalwart and uncompromising representatives of the ethical school as Dr. J. Minot Savage and Dr. Charles E. Dole. And despite the tendency to an extreme subjective idealism which in general characterizes the preaching of Unitarianism, we find preachers, like the devout, refined, and scholarly Dr. Francis G. Peabody, who more fully disclose its religious spirit and who have numerous touching points with the so-called evangelical communions.

iii. Presbyterianism, as already intimated, has also, in its own way, made prominent the intellectual aspects of religion, and thus it perpetuates the traditions of the Reformed church of which it is a special product. It shares with American Congregationalism the inheritance of English Puritanism that resisted the tyranny of Anglican injustice, and has close affiliations with Dutch Presbyterianism that defied Spanish Romanism, with the Presbyterianism of the Scottish Covenanters that antagonized Anglican prelacy, and with that of the French Huguenots that withstood the persecutions of the Gallic church. All of these

sources have made their contributions to and left their impress upon this in some respects most sturdy and most Protestant of all American Protestant communions. Loyalty to the apostolic Scriptures, as interpreted, not in entire independence of its confessions of faith, but largely through and by means of them, has been the formal or objective principle of its church life, and here this principle has found sturdy advocacy. Over against this it has set the witnessing presence of the Spirit of truth in the soul of the individual believer, and in the community of believers, and to this, as the material or subjective principle of its church life, it has claimed coördinate allegiance. The outworking, however inconsistently and inharmoniously, of these two principles, upon which such emphasis is set, has secured for American Presbyterianism, and particularly for its preaching, a certain distinctiveness. One may not accept the Presbyterian preacher's point of view, may not agree with his theological teachings, nor like the overconfident tone with which he sometimes presents his religious opinions; one may often find his preaching lacking in popular effectiveness; but its positiveness of tone and method, despite the excesses of the dogmatic principle, has always secured for it an element of strength. Presbyterianism has supported a vigorous and manly pulpit and has contributed an element of virility to American preaching in general. There is a certain sturdiness and balance in it which are not always found in the preaching of the more distinctively democratic churches, whose theological, ecclesiastical, and homiletic training, although superior in breadth, perhaps, lacks the closeness, the thoroughness, and the orderly method found in Presbyterian training. Whatever its limitations or its excesses, it certainly illustrates, and in a way vindicates, the importance which it attaches to its theology, as embodying the great truths and facts of revealed religion as it understands them, and the importance which it attaches to sound theological

and ecclesiastical education and training in its ministry. In the quality of intellectual strength, in the clear discrimination, the orderly method, of the best type of Presbyterian preaching, in the eminently edifying character of the preacher's conduct of public worship, as well as in his devotion to and grasp of pastoral and parochial problems, one must certainly recognize the marks of a church that has always been strong in its teaching function and that has always insisted upon a thoroughly equipped ministry, and one will readily see why the Presbyterian church should have the best endowed and most fully manned theological schools in the country.

The relative degree of emphasis that has been put upon the objective or the subjective principle of church life in the exigencies of its history, accounts largely for the peculiarities of its development and especially for the divisions that have occurred within its ranks. The objective and subjective principles do not always work harmoniously together. External authority, whether in church creed or in church polity, does not always adjust itself to inner experience, whether mental or moral or spiritual. The strongest adherents of the objective principle have been found in the old school of Presbyterianism. It has appropriated the principle of external authority in religion more fully than the new school. The teachings of its confessions, which it is claimed are found in the Scriptures, are accepted largely upon the basis of external divine authority to which is added also external ecclesiastical authority. These confessions are interpreted more rigidly and enforced more strictly than is the case with the new school. The old-school man is more fully committed to the dogmatic principle. He believes stoutly in external authority. He is a close subscriptionist and he is a high churchman. His church order is found in the inspired Scriptures and he naturally insists upon rigid conformity thereto. In the conduct of church

affairs old-school men have never cordially accepted the voluntary principle. All church activities should be under the control of the organized body. They cherish the ecclesiastical habit of mind. They are less free and flexible in their movements, less responsive to humanistic influences. They have not to so great an extent as the new-school men appropriated the ethical as distinguished from the dogmatic elements in Christianity and have not always been so fully committed to great questions of moral reform in civic life. The preaching of this school has in general been characterized by theological, ecclesiastical, and ethical conservatism. No Protestant church in the country, north or south, can point to a larger number of intellectually able preachers, or preachers more honestly loyal to the strong features of the Reformed theology. The intelligent student of American preaching cannot afford to ignore them. They have conserved important interests of church life. They have developed important aspects of the masculine quality in Christianity and have held attention to its practical value for the Christian life in such sort and to such an extent as otherwise might have failed. But of the inadequacy and the ultimate ineffectiveness of their dogmatic method the change to which the preaching of this school has been subjected and which it manifests in our day is evidence. The preaching of men like ex-President Patton of Princeton, whose intellectual scope, strength, and subtlety, whose dialectical skill, free range in the high altitudes of theological discussion, ethical manliness, and rhetorical cleverness and cogency are the admiration of the intelligent classes, in his communion as well as out of it, discloses more numerous touching points with modern thought, and especially with modern life, even in his general dogmatic attitude with respect to the truth presented and with respect to those to whom it is presented, than we find in his more distinctively theological discussions. We seem to discover in him the elements of the ancient con-

servative and of the modern liberal, of the eighteenth-century theologian and of the twentieth-century preacher. In preachers like the Rev. Dr. Herrick Johnson of Chicago and the Rev. Dr. Burrell of New York one finds the substance a conservative theology and the heroic tone of assurance that comes from an anchorage ground in external authority, combined with a popular method of rhetorical effectiveness that suggests large inroads of the time-spirit, not only into their practical but into their student life as well.

In Mr. Robert E. Speare, who may be regarded as the most forceful and impressive lay preacher in the United States, one discovers the result, the beneficent result, of the conservative habit of mind in a certain intellectual stalwartness and steadiness and sobriety in which all serious-minded men will rejoice, and which surely bring great honor to the school from which he came. In what seems to some a certain tone of moral severity and austerity he may discredit the more delicate and tender and gracious feminine aspects of Christianity. But we can afford to leave this to prophets of another type, and wish that this regal prophetic voice may sound no other ethical note than that which so strongly impresses the young men of this generation, to whom he has a God-given message.

The new-school Presbyterian has anchored more closely to the subjective principle in church life. He supports a moderate theory of creed subscription. In the consciousness of spiritual freedom he has claimed and defended the right to a broad and flexible interpretation of church theology, and has always been the pioneer in demands for its modification. Not less intelligently committed than his old-school colleague to the demand for an educated ministry, he has sometimes found it necessary to lay proportionate stress upon piety and godliness. He is not in theory a high churchman and has not been the advocate of a high-church polity. In his philanthropic and mis-

sionary work he has been able freely to affiliate in voluntary methods of church work with the ministers of the Congregational churches, whose polity has been sufficiently broad and flexible to entertain him and his church in close ecclesiastical confederation and whose spirit has been sufficiently generous and self-forgetting to give him and his church, too, a certain precedence in the products of the joint partnership. The new-school Presbyterian is the theological and ecclesiastical liberal of his church. It is this school that has supported a type of Christianity and even a type of evangelism that claims the right to teach a new theology, or at least a new method of interpreting an old theology, and its preachers, lay and clerical, have been conspicuous in their championship of an evangelism that rests more completely upon the material than upon the formal principle of church life. This is the school that has entered most deeply into the moral elements of Christianity, that has participated most vigorously in discussions of the great questions of philanthropy and of moral reform, and that stands at the front to-day in its acceptance and advocacy of the historical and critical method of dealing with sacred Scripture. The founding of Princeton College was one of the results of its earlier propagandism. It was responsive to the "new light" that emerged a little farther east in the New Haven theology, and now it is Union Theological Seminary, with its magnificent endowment and equipment, that is its stronghold. Union is in line of succession and of development from, the earlier Yale, and holds an equally independent position with respect to its attitude towards all the problems of modern theology in all its branches. The preachers of new-school Presbyterianism are among the most gifted and popularly impressive preachers of the country. Many of them have been interpreters of New England theology and have been closely connected with Congregational churches and ministers. Dr. Albert Barnes, friend and associate of Dr.

Lyman Beecher, was estimated as the most successful Biblical preacher of his time. Dr. Thomas H. Skinner, a southerner by birth, early connected with Princeton, as have been many other new-school men, in the first period of his professional life professor of sacred rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary, one of the founders of Union Theological Seminary, ultimately professor of sacred rhetoric and pastoral theology there, and translator of Vinet's "Homiletics," was for many years a pastor and was known as one of the most accomplished and edifying pastoral preachers of his day. Dr. William Adams, a New Englander by birth and education, at one time a Congregational pastor in Massachusetts, ultimately successor to Dr. Skinner in Union Theological Seminary, for twenty years the greatly successful pastor of Madison Square Presbyterian Church of New York, was, perhaps, in his day, the most gifted, cultivated, and persuasive preacher of his school.

Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock, a brilliant rhetorical romanticist of a modified type, an evangelical transcendentalist, was another New England product. Inspiring as a teacher of historical theology, to which the last and most fruitful years of his life were devoted, he was perhaps more distinctively a preacher, whose vocation is certified in the profound impressions made by him upon the most cultivated audiences in New York City and in earlier years not the less upon the students of Bowdoin College of a generation fast passing who listened to him in his Saturday evening discourses upon unique religious themes, who criticised him and admired him, who were stimulated by his striking thoughts and impressed by his sententious speech and his rich sonorous voice, and who will remember him to the end.

Dr. Parkhurst illustrates the moral severities of old Puritanism in new form. In the use of rhetorical instruments drawn from a repertory seemingly inexhaustible

he vindicates in a unique manner the traditions of his school in its devotion to public decency and morality.

Dr. Henry van Dyke is the pulpit artist of his school. In skilful handling of the manuscript, in clearness, force, chasteness, and felicity of diction, and in a directness and cogency of moral appeal which seemingly his later literary interests have not enhanced, he stands in the front line of American preachers.

iv. 1. The preaching of the Baptist churches in its best estate is not readily distinguishable materially or formally from that of other Protestant communions. It shares the broader outlook, the eager, aggressive moral enterprise, and the rhetorical forcefulness that are so common in all Christian communities in the preaching of our day. But in its interpretation of the spirit and its advocacy of the mission of the Baptist churches it embodies certain distinctive features, which the closer inspection will not fail to discover. To restore apostolic Christianity, as they understand it, is the conscious historic vocation of these churches. Other churches have undertaken the same task. The Puritan churches that antagonized them had already undertaken it, and with devout sincerity thought themselves doing God's service in their apostolic opposition. But the Baptist apostles very correctly thought that those who held the field by a sort of prescriptive right misapplied apostolic principles, and they believed that the work of restoration should be done more thoroughly. They would accordingly push it forward more completely and consistently.

In the strict formal sense such an undertaking is of course wholly impossible. Most Protestant churches have claimed to be apostolic. But apostolicity of spirit and of principle is the only apostolicity possible for any church. Modern New Testament critical investigation has made it perfectly evident that no form of church life can be the exact counterpart of that which was found in the early

Christian communities. And yet it is true that in the Baptist churches we find more fully than in most others a restoration in many ways of "the simplicity that is in Christ." Many of the material and perhaps some of the formal aspects of apostolic Christianity may be found here. And the rapid growth and development of these churches may be in some important sense a vindication of their claims. At any rate it is distinctly true that the accent which they have laid upon apostolic spirituality, freedom, and simplicity has met a real want in the religious life of this country.

Unlike the mystical and rationalistic sects, which begin and sometimes end with the subjective principle, the Baptist communion begins with the formal principle of church life. It is of course fully committed to the subjective or experimental principle, but it seeks a Biblical foundation for it. The spirituality of the church, which may be called its fundamental tenet, is defended not merely or primarily upon the basis of the priestly rights of all believers or upon the basis of the validity of the subjective or material principle of church life, but upon the ground of the sufficient authority of the apostolic Scriptures. This has been the historic position of the Baptist churches. What modification modern Biblical criticism may necessitate remains to be seen. At any rate, however, they will not cease to claim, till they are completely revolutionized, that there can be no Christian church according to the New Testament type which does not rest upon a regenerate membership. They only can be proper members of the church who have consciously entered into the experiences of the Christian life and into covenant relations with Christ and with each other. For this they claim definite apostolic authority. Relying upon this same authority, they believe themselves to have restored the original form of baptism. But it is, after all, not the restoration of the form that has chief significance. It is its original significance as symbol

of regeneration that is chiefly important, for this sanctions its application to those only who have entered the Christian life and assumed covenant relations. Restoring thus the original spiritual significance of the church and of its ordinances, they have also restored the apostolic conception of the Christian ministry, and of its mission. As a spiritual body the church must be democratic. It reports to no human master and its members have coördinate rights. As being a self-governing body under Christ, the representative principle has no standing ground. The local churches may formulate creeds. The community of churches may accept them as expressing their theological beliefs, but only in so far as they may be assumed faithfully to interpret the Scriptures. The rejection of all doctrinal formularies is a later development. It is the Church of the Disciples that has carried the "restoration" to what it regards as its proper limits in the rejection of all human creeds. In accordance with apostolic precedent and in harmony with the realities of Christian experience, the Christian ministry must rest upon a divine call. Evidences of this call are found in moral uprightness, consecrated Christian character, consciousness of vocation, knowledge of the Scriptures, experience of their power in the inner life, aptness to teach, and adequate gifts of speech. Intellectual qualifications are not ignored, but they are secondary. As an autonomous spiritual body the church is competent to discern and to select the men who are called of God to be its leaders and need not commit the task to theological experts. The spiritual insight and the sanctified common sense of this spiritual body are fully adequate to the task. Any man who has the call may be placed by the church in the ministry. In all this we surely find an echo of the apostolic church and it is impossible that traces of influence from this restoration movement should not appear in the preaching of the Baptist churches.

It has first of all secured a distinct Biblical quality to

their preaching. This is one of its most prominent and characteristic features. In this of course it is not unique. All Protestant pulpits get back to the Biblical basis. But a radical movement to bring primitive Christianity back into the pulpit must commit the preacher in an exceptional manner to a Biblical basis. Whatever the form of the sermon, it must have a Scriptural flavor. Even the topical, as well as textual or expository, sermon will strike the Biblical note. All restoration churches of whatever name are definitely committed to this basis. The church of the Disciples, which has pushed the apostolicity of the church, its ordinances, its ministry, and its preaching to the utmost limits, discloses more fully perhaps than any other religious body a type of preaching that is in the material and formal sense Biblical. It has sent forth a strong body of plain, direct, forceful Scriptural preachers, and the growth of this body of churches demonstrates the power of such preaching upon the constituency to which it appeals. But all branches of the Baptist communion share this reverence for Biblical truth and have caught and perpetuated the apostolic spirit. It matters not that the preacher may have entered fully into the spirit of modern culture, and large numbers have done so, or that he invades human life with all the modern pulpit instruments at his command, he will always, if true to his church, find a Scriptural background for his message, and will bind the early ages of his faith to the age in which and to which he ministers.

The evangelistic note should also be prominent. And so we find it. To win men to Jesus Christ, after the manner of the apostolic church and in obedience to its own evangelistic commission, by the presentation of the Gospel of God's grace has always been one of its most prominent objects. Whatever of increasing importance they may attach to Christian edification, the Baptist churches are expected never to forget their evangelistic mission. Evangelism is not less important, even in the estimate of

their most modern and most cultivated communities, than Christian nurture, and in their increasing solicitude for a Christian education that shall fit men for worthy church membership, they do not abandon efforts at evangelistic conquest in bringing them under sway of the Gospel. Not even in the Methodist church, whose traditions commit it preëminently to the work of conquest, are the principles of evangelism more fully recognized or the demands of an evangelistic church more fully met, or the habits of evangelism more fully developed.

Decisive and emphatic as may be the rejection theoretically of all doctrinal formularies or of the use of all human forms of theologic thought, it is impossible that the stalwart thinkers of any religious communion should fail to smuggle doctrinal elements into their preaching. The claim that any man who comes into close quarters with the great commanding truths of redemptive religion, can preach Biblically without in an important sense preaching doctrinally, is delusive. Biblical forms of truth must be interpreted, and they must be interpreted in terms of intelligible thought. They need not be interpreted in the terms of the historic church creeds, but they must somehow be interpreted doctrinally. The futility of undertaking to eliminate doctrine by presenting truth in Biblical form is seen in the Church of the Disciples. Its preachers claim to be Scriptural rather than doctrinal. But they cannot escape the forms of modern thought. The thinking men among them work a good deal of doctrine into their preaching. They may be Biblical, but they are not the less doctrinal. But the Baptist churches in general have never rejected human creeds. Their preachers, who have the requisite training, may readily be doctrinal preachers. Of such preachers there have been many in times past. They have been trained theologians, who have defended their own doctrinal tenets on rational as well as Scriptural grounds. And there are Baptist

preachers in our own day who work the theology of the New Testament into their preaching and who in the doing make use of modern critical instruments. The typical Baptist preacher of our day may not be called a doctrinal preacher, but he is nothing if not a didactic preacher, and it is doubtful if any church can furnish a better class of didactic preachers. With a tone of moral seriousness, of devout piety, of ardent feeling and sympathy, they present a robust and vigorous defence of the great truths of Biblical religion and in the doing they handle skilfully modern methods of apology.

The experimental quality is also distinguishable. As grounding all church and ministerial life upon Christian experience, how should it be otherwise? With the inner life of the soul in its search for salvation, with its aspiration for holiness and righteousness, with the burdens, perplexities, doubts, contradictions, sorrows, and conflicts of the religious life it must, as of necessity, deal. Hence, while evangelistic in aim, or didactic in content, it will not fail to be pastoral and experimental in spirit. In the combination of gifts for evangelistic incentive with gifts for pastoral edification there have been no preachers in this country that have surpassed many of those that have been connected with the Baptist churches. More conscientious and consecrated men in their dealing with the experiences of the human soul are not found. The writer recalls a preacher of this communion who never entered the pulpit without the consecrated purpose to unfold and to enforce the truths of redemptive religion with the utmost skill and force at command for the edification and the awakening of human souls. Nor was he an exceptional product of the nurture of his church.

The variety that characterizes the preaching of the Baptist churches, not only in different sections of the country but in different parts of the same section, is due, in large measure, to diversities in the equipment of their ministry.

The value of thorough theological education has never been minimized by these churches. They have simply held merely intellectual considerations in subordination. Religion is not knowledge, Christianity is more than truth. The intellect is not the chief organ of the religious life. A call to preach is not primarily a call to indoctrinate, but a call to evangelize. Religious instruction can never be an end. It legitimates itself by realizing a larger and a more practical end. That a man is mentally and educationally competent to be the intellectual leader of men is no adequate proof of his call to the ministry. Any man who is morally sound, personally consecrated, knows his Bible, and has some gift for teaching, may enter the ministry of these churches and will find there a sphere for usefulness. The preacher may be crude in thought, untrained in feeling, polemical in spirit perhaps, and possibly rude in method and manner. Such preachers are sometimes found. But they are likely to be men of force and effectiveness, and their consecrated gifts indicate their calling. The Baptist churches have never made the mistake which some Protestant communions have made of undervaluing spiritual gifts in the preacher. It has doubtless been to their advantage that they have been willing to accept men for the ministry whose spiritual vastly surpasses their intellectual equipment. The Congregational and Presbyterian churches have been obliged to do the same thing. In fact all Protestant churches have done it. But the Baptist, equally with the Methodist churches, have accepted this as a working apostolic principle in their estimate of the ministry. And yet they have a place for the man of rare intellectual equipment. He may do a work that his less fully educated brother may not do. They may work side by side, and neither may question the call of the other, for it rests in either case upon a more than human authority. No communion, not even the Methodist, exhibits greater variety in the quality of its preaching.

But in the general advance in education, and especially in the increasing intelligence and culture of its own constituency, the average intellectual equipment of its ministry has advanced. In a combination of gifts that fits him for pastoral edification and evangelistic incentive the Baptist preacher has a certain preëminence.

In this general advance of Christian intelligence and catholicity, these churches are abandoning "close communion," in which their English brethren have preceded them. Possibly we may look for still further modifications in their conceptions of the formal significance of the church and its ordinances, that may secure to the future a more united body of democratic churches in the defence and propagation of a truly catholic Christianity.

2. President Francis Wayland, of Brown University, whose professional career as pastor and college officer reached from the middle of the first on into the third quarter of the last century and covered a period of more than forty years, was in his day the most widely known and influential representative of the Baptist communion, of whose principles he was a vigorous and intelligent advocate. He was a man of many acquisitions and accomplishments. He was a teacher of mental, moral, and economic science, and author of works, upon these subjects, that were once in general use. He was familiar with the chief problems of university education according to the standards of his day, and was, in fact, in many ways in advance of those standards. But he was above all else a man of practical spirit and was supremely devoted to the interests of moral and religious life. As a preacher he was faithful to what he understood to be the mission of his church, and he combined in an interesting manner and in an eminent degree the quality of pastoral edification with that of evangelistic incentive. His preaching was always substantial and aimed at practical instructiveness. He selected weighty and important themes and handled them with a conscientious thorough-

ness suggestive of a dread of inadequateness and superficiality. His diction was plain, straightforward, simple, readily apprehended by the average hearer, bearing always above all else the mark of sound common sense, without strong emotion, without the color of imaginative imagery, and rarely rising to any height of what calls itself eloquence, but never without dignity and a certain homely grace, and above all was suggestive of moral sincerity and of religious devoutness.

Three volumes of discourses, each in its own way, illustrate his various qualities as a preacher. The "Occasional Discourses" were, for the most part, preached during the early period of his career, the first in the series on the "Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise," one of his most noted sermons, having been preached when he was twenty-seven years old and all of them before the age of forty. They were preached in connection with ordination services, or anniversary exercises of religious, philanthropic, or educational societies, and suggest not only the early maturity of his powers but the early reputation and influence he had acquired. Some of them touch upon the duties of Christian citizenship, and illustrate his patriotic impulses and the ethical quality of his religion. The discourse on the Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, which occurred in 1826 when he was thirty years of age, is notable for its clear insight, its careful analysis, and its sound political and religious teachings. These sermons are long and elaborate and illustrate his devotion to the teaching as well as the advocate mission of the preacher.

The "Sermons to the Churches" were issued after his retirement from the presidency of Brown University, and while supplying the old Roger Williams Church of Providence. They also are occasional sermons, preached in different parts of the country, but are of a later date and of a somewhat different quality from those above men-

tioned. Their object is to incite the churches to more earnest evangelistic efforts and to more consecrated, well ordered, and consistent Christian lives. They were addressed primarily to the churches of his own communion, but their appeal was pertinent to the needs of all the churches of his day of whatever name, among whom he was well known and was always welcome as a counsellor and friend. These discourses also are characteristically long, elaborate, and thorough.

The most interesting and popularly effective of all his collected discourses are his "University Sermons," issued near the close of his presidency. There is a very marked contrast between them and the University sermons of our day. They belong to a different world of thought and of interest. The subjects discussed are characteristically weighty and important, and although not without attractiveness and impressiveness, they have not the obtrusive popular effectiveness which we have learned to expect from such discourses. Such subjects as the character of God, the character of man, the person and work of Christ, the Christian church, suggest the sphere in which his thought moves. "The Fall of Peter" is a sermon of graphic descriptiveness and of strong moral incentive and furnishes the nearest approach to popular impressiveness. The two addresses on "Recent Revolutions in Europe" are to the reader of our day of special interest as a resumé of the chief features of the popular uprisings in Europe near the middle of the last century. The sermons on "The Duty of Obedience to the Civil Magistrate" are after the best manner of the old Puritan preachers of New England. All of these discourses, whatever the subjects discussed, disclose his zeal for the conversion of men. This evangelistic spirit he carried into all his relations with his students. Personal counsel, personal appeal, and even personal prayer for and with them was his constant habit during all the years of his presidency. As president and

as preacher he was scrupulously faithful to his conception of the mission of the Baptist churches and to his conception of what their ministry should be. President Wayland reminds us in some respects of Arnold of Rugby. He did a work not unlike that of Arnold. He disclosed the same solicitude for the moral and religious welfare of his students that Arnold did.

It was Arnold's task to elevate the moral and religious tone of the English schools, and such with different instruments and by different methods, was substantially the work of President Wayland. In this his success was not equal to that of Dr. Arnold, but it was substantial, and his influence in the counsels of religious men of all communions was strong and permanent.

A much more accomplished preacher than President Wayland was the Rev. Dr. William R. Williams of New York City, — a prominent figure among exceptionally able preachers three or four decades ago. He was after a fashion the John Foster of the American Baptist churches, although less of an essayist, and more of a preacher than Foster. To the native popular preaching gifts of a Welshman were added the accomplishments of the thinker and the scholar. He was a topical preacher, and although Biblical in tone and substance, his product incorporated freely and fully the results of his humanistic and particularly his historical studies. His sermons often appeared in the New York press and were frequently published in pamphlet form. During the most active period of his ministry there appeared a volume of discourses entitled "Religious Progress" or "The Development of the Christian Character," from 2 Pet. i. 5–7, which illustrates the thoroughness with which he was accustomed to treat his subjects, his illustrative skill, and the grace and affluence of his literary style. His career is a demonstration that consecrated gifts of learning and literary culture and trained eloquence may be included in the call of God's Spirit to the

Christian ministry. The influence of such men in elevating the standards of the Baptist ministry has been potent.

The Baptist churches seem to have become easily domesticated in the southern states. Their spirit, principles, and methods somehow appeal to widely different classes of the people, and the southern gift for animated and forceful public speech has doubtless been tributary to their progress. At the same time one fancies that this gift has itself been fostered by their free tutelage. At any rate a good deal of effective preaching is found in the southern Baptist churches. Their ministers are, in general, not so well educated as in the north. But the more worthily educated combine the qualities in an eminent degree of the instructive and the impressional preacher. Contemporary with Dr. Williams of New York was Dr. Richard Fuller of South Carolina, and subsequently of Baltimore, Maryland, whose name not less than his gifts give him a certain right to prominence in this communion. In his preaching we find the doctrinal orthodoxy, the evangelical ardor, the evangelistic zeal, the illustrative imagery, the emotional enthusiasm, the pathos and sentiment, the vocal variety and energetic pantomime, which we have learned to look for in the typical southern preacher. He followed the extemporaneous method and in it developed to the utmost his oratorical gifts. He had studied and practised law, and, as in many another case, his training in this profession doubtless contributed not only to the facility and freedom and accuracy of his diction and the grace and force combined of his elocution, but to the discriminating quality of his thought and to the lucidity of his homiletic order. His preaching furnished one of the best illustrations of southern pulpit oratory.

The native gifts for preaching of the ministers of the southern Baptist church are perhaps not inferior to those of the north, but there have been and doubtless still are a larger number of uneducated and untrained men in its

ministry. The better trained men are with the north, and Brown University and Newton Theological Seminary have been for them prominent sources of academic and theological culture.

One of the best trained men in his communion, and an alumnus of these schools, was the Rev. President Ezekiel G. Robinson, D.D. The larger portion of his life was spent in academic and theological circles, and he is known chiefly in the educational work of his denomination. He was professor of mental and moral science at Rochester University, later on at Brown University and subsequently its president, lecturer at Andover Theological Seminary on Dogmatics, ultimately professor in Chicago University of Christian Ethics and Apologetics, and was the author of a work on Christian Theology and of another on Christian Ethics, which doubtless contain the condensed product of his work as teacher. But President Robinson's Yale lectures on Preaching on the Lyman Beecher foundation in 1882 disclose a man of decidedly practical spirit and are of value as indicating the insight into and sympathy with the more prominent problems of the Christian pastorate of a man whose chief life experiences were in the sphere of the teacher. He spent but seven years in the pastorate, but they were in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Cincinnati, Ohio, communities of exceptional intelligence, where all his best powers as a preacher must have been in process of training and where doubtless the foundation was laid for the extemporaneous preaching in which he excelled and of which in his Yale Lectures he was a somewhat extreme advocate. His preaching doubtless illustrated the value of the extemporaneous method for himself, for he made effective use of it. But if the Baptist churches were to commit themselves wholly to Dr. Robinson's method, they would rob themselves of an important source of educative power. Even the memoriter preacher, against whom our doughty

Yale lecturer inveighs, has his value and his historic justification.

One of the most successful teachers of doctrinal theology in this country is the Rev. Professor William N. Clarke, D.D. But the preacher is behind the lecturer. No intelligent person can have listened to his lectures without recognizing this. Those twenty-three years of pastoral experience, chiefly in exceptionally intelligent communities in the United States, have been richly tributary to his work as teacher of doctrinal theology. On the other hand it is equally evident to those who have heard him preach as well as lecture that his teaching is proportionally tributary to his preaching. His power of lucid statement, his skill in representing occult theologic thought in readily apprehensible terms, and his straightforwardness and courageous sincerity are qualities that are prominent in this most interesting and convincing of theological teachers in our day. In its power of lucid statement, in its fine Christian feeling and sentiment, its suggestion of comradeship with his pupils, its clear spiritual insight, and in the felicity and aptness of its diction, his "Outlines of Christian Theology" is a most valuable study for ministers and not without profit to intelligent Christian laymen. His "Use of the Scriptures in Theology" is even more valuable, if possible, to ministers and laymen alike. It is a greatly needed and most valuable contribution to a difficult and supremely important subject, and in its skill and courage is successful to a degree that seemingly would have been impossible for any other theological teacher of the country. All these qualities that have given him eminence as a teacher he carries into the pulpit, and he is not less interesting and successful as a preacher. His discourses are always thoughtful, frequently striking and fresh in suggestiveness, readily apprehended, orderly in method, practical in aim, and pungent and direct in statement. They have the carrying power of the preacher's fearlessness, sincerity,

and frankness. In a straightforward, colloquial, unimpassioned, prevailingly reflective, serious, and sincere manner, wholly without rhetorical arts or affectations of oratorical style, he speaks straight on.

The Rev. President William H. R. Faunce, D.D., of Brown University, formerly pastor for ten years of Fifth Avenue Baptist church of New York City, is among the most acceptable of American preachers to student bodies. His services as preacher in residence at Harvard University, and as frequent preacher in most of our prominent universities and colleges, attest the appreciation in which he is held. The catholicity of his spirit, the pertinence of his themes, the freshness of his thought, the clearness of his method, the elegance of his diction, and his pleasing address are among the impressive elements of his preaching.

The Rev. Robert S. MacArthur, D.D., a Canadian by birth, but an American by education, for more than a quarter of a century pastor of Calvary Baptist Church of New York City, is one of the popular, forceful, and aggressive preachers of his church. His copious contributions to the religious and secular press, his frequent appearance upon the lecture platform, his numerous volumes of sermons, and his treatises on religious themes attest his rhetorical vigor and the variety and productiveness of his intellectual activities. His interest in liturgics, which has borne good fruit in his own service of worship, is somewhat prominent in a church that is inclined to identify simplicity with barrenness and the artistic with the artificial and unreal in worship and that needs liturgical enrichment. He is a man of positive convictions, an ardent but intelligent, and somewhat apologetic and occasionally polemical, advocate of the principles for which his communion stands, a gifted cosmopolitan preacher, not without a touch of ecclesiastical provincialism.

The Rev. Dr. Russell A. Conwell of Philadelphia is

doubtless the most distinguished and successful institutional church leader in the Baptist communion. Educated as a lawyer, trained in the practice of law, a soldier in the Union Army, a newspaper correspondent, at one time an official of the state of Minnesota, a lecturer and author, he has brought to his ministry, upon which he entered when nearly forty years of age, a great variety of experiences, and of trained aptitudes, which have contributed to his remarkable success as an institutional church leader, and which have in a variety of ways become tributary to his manifest native gift for popular public speech.

v. American, like Anglican Episcopacy, makes prominent the institutional aspects of religion. The importance of the organized, visible unity of the church, of its historic continuity, and the dependence of the individual upon its corporate life are distinguishing features of its teaching. Opinions vary indeed with respect to what is essential to the being and authority of the church. But there is general agreement as to the practical importance of an organized, visible, historic community for the support of the Christian life and for the propagation of Christianity.

1. The most exaggerated forms of institutionalism are found in "high" Episcopacy. To its adherents the term suggests an exalted and worthy estimate of the visible historic church. To its opponents it suggests an extravagant and unwarrantable assumption. It is "high and mighty" ecclesiasticism. In the second half of the last century this branch of the church was quickened into fresh and vigorous life and it made rapid progress. At first it was a relatively independent American movement, but it subsequently came under the influence of the "Oxford revival" and, as in England, developed in the direction of ritualism. It held precedence in the home field, and developed rapidly even in the western portion of the country, where one might least have expected it. In line with Romanism it allies the Christian with the Jewish church.

In organized Judaism it finds a prototype of organized Christianity. The three orders were of Hebrew origin and were transferred to the Christian church. It fails to differentiate the church from the Kingdom of God. There is a well-defined line, which one may readily recognize by visible marks, between the church, as the Kingdom of God, and the uncovenanted and unconsecrated kingdom of this world. The boundary line is as distinct as the boundary line between two nations. To belong to this church is to belong to Christ. To be alien from it in heart is to be alien from Christ.

The apostles were church officers ordained by Christ not merely to evangelize the world, but to teach and rule the church and to administer in his name, and by his authority, its sacraments and discipline. As a genuinely religious body it of course does not fail to inculcate personal and experimental piety. But the subjective principle in religion fails of adequate recognition. The individual Christian may indeed stand in immediate personal relation with Christ, but the stress of its contention is laid upon his identification with the visible church and upon his mediate relation with Christ as the head of the church through it and through its ordinances. The sacraments are the chief media of grace and communicate it efficaciously. Episcopal ordination alone is valid, because it alone is in the apostolic order and because efficient ministerial grace is conditioned by this order. Thus the external, divine authority of the so-called apostolic church is pushed to the front, and the objective, institutional, corporate, historical, and traditional aspects of religion receive disproportionate, not to say erroneous, emphasis. Under the reactions of the multifold forces of modern life the movement has spent itself. Ritualism, as in England, may be gaining ground, although not in extremest forms which are exotic to American ecclesiasticism, but high Episcopacy as a dogmatic principle, claiming sole apostolic

order and authority, can no longer successfully manipulate historic facts.

The effects of this high ecclesiasticism upon the work of the preacher will be evident. Its value in many ways we may not question. It is doubtless true that the religious life of the entire church has been quickened by it, and the preacher has caught the influence. It has fostered in the preacher a more devout and reverential habit of mind. The spiritual tone of his preaching is therefore of a higher order. It has enriched the artistic aspects of religious worship. It has developed its poetic and prophetic symbolism, and the liturgical has become more fully tributary to the homiletic interest. The sacred forms of religion are more fully respected. The importance of religion as a special interest, and the necessity of what is special to its universal interest, are more fully recognized. It has done a needed work in awakening a new church conscience. The lack of institutional loyalty and of conscious unity of life have been a serious defect in many of our autonomous churches. A movement that holds attention to the corporate and historic life of the church cannot fail to reach beneficently beyond its own borders. It has laid new accent upon the educative value of religious symbolism and thereby may have contributed to the revival in other religious communions, in some measure at least, of respect for their own sacred ordinances. By exalting the organized, visible church, it has held our attention to its importance for the individual Christian life, and in a sort has anticipated what modern Ritschlianism has in a very different manner sought to accomplish. If in all the American churches there is found to-day a somewhat fuller recognition of the importance of organized, historic Christianity, it is due in some considerable measure at least to the activities of this ecclesiastical school.

But its exaggerations may not be minimized. It shares the defects of English high churchmanship. It has over-

worked the objective principle in church life. Its preachers disclose the institutional habit of mind in excess. Its dogmatic principle is not conducive to the highest intellectual candor, nor to the cultivation of a genuine historic and critical spirit. Like its rival school it has fostered the polemical temper. Its pulpit has carried the archaic note. Unlike its Anglican counterpart, the intellectual fibre of its preachers has not been adequately developed by its tutelage. Its scholarship has been meagre. Its educational agencies have failed to meet the demands of advancing life. Its schools have been poorly equipped, and those who bear their degrees have not magnified their significance. Its conception of the functions of the Christian ministry have been defective and confused. The objects contemplated in training men for the ministry have been one-sided or contradictory. It has substituted the professional for the vocational aspects of the ministry and its methods of securing and training candidates for clerical orders have often failed to introduce to its service the most desirable men. This has been true of all branches of the church, but especially of the one under consideration. A conservative habit of mind has limited the enterprise of its clergy. They have failed to enter aggressively into the life of the modern world. Other schools have in this regard been in advance of it. With the great moral problems of the civic community it has not grappled as it should or might have done. In so far as it has entered this field at all, it has been by methods that are ecclesiastical and exclusive and it has failed to coöperate with other Christian communions in its philanthropies. Its catholicity is formal and in effect partisan. In devotion to its exclusive ecclesiastical methods it formerly withheld itself almost wholly from the entire field of moral reform as such distinctively. With respect to the institution of slavery it was largely silent or apologetic. To the influence of this branch of the church it was in large measure due that there was no

break between the northern and southern sections over the question of slavery and of secession. Fortunate this may have been for the ultimate external unity of the church and it has been regarded as matter for congratulation. But it was at cost of the moral power of the church. Much of what is here said might be supported by evidence from within. And all this has borne fruit in the preaching of high episcopacy. But it must be acknowledged that this is true chiefly of a past generation. Far better things can be said of it in our own day.

With the prominent representative men of this school, who were identified with its early fortunes and who triumphed in its later successes and with their gifts as preachers, it is not possible nor is it important for us to linger. It is clear enough that they must have been men of extraordinary endowments. A school so seemingly exotic to American ecclesiasticism could never have won its way without exceptionally able leadership. Its rapid advance was doubtless measurably due to certain favoring conditions of the time, to a revival of interest in the historic church, to a new quickening of æsthetic sentiment, to theological unrest, to aspiration for a higher religious life, to dissatisfaction with a sentimental type of piety, and to a reaction against the ecclesiastical disintegrations of the day as seen in various Christian sects. But to have brought this movement against bitter opposition into such predominance as to dislodge from its preëminence the rival school which had held the field is proof not only of enthusiastic devotion and of extraordinary executive enterprise, but of very skilful advocacy on the part of its leaders. They were picked men, men of mark not only in the handling of affairs but in their apologetic methods and in their persuasive presentation of their cause to their fellow-men. They were intellectual and cultivated men who believed in their mission, were devoted to it, handled its interests with consummate adroitness, and won the ear for it even of a reluctant and protesting public.

Bishop Hobart of New York entered the field in the early period of the movement. Before he entered the bishopric he had become known as the successful rector of Trinity Church, which, like St. Paul's of London, was in some sort a centre for the movement. He was especially influential in furthering the educational interests of the cause and was one of the founders of the General Theological Seminary. He had a genius for affairs. He had the enthusiasm, the self-reliance and self-possession, the confidence in his cause and devotion to it, the resolution and tenacity of purpose, the resourcefulness, the tireless activity and the skilful advocacy, that belong to the spirit of an ecclesiastical leader of the highest rank. He was a fruitful thinker and wrote upon a variety of ecclesiastical subjects, largely of a practical sort, all of which became tributary to his propaganda. He was intense and proportionately provincial and was a lively polemist according to the fashion of his day. Even in the advocacy of the catholicity of which his school talks so much, and which is so largely external, formal and ecclesiastical, he was belligerent and one-sided. He was on the one side a pietist and on the other an institutionalist, and his religious enthusiasm combined with his intellectual vigor and productiveness was tributary to his effectiveness as a preacher.

Two volumes of sermons gather up his homiletic products.[1] Their order of thought is lucid, their tone devout, and their moral and religious earnestness secures for them an element of forcefulness and persuasiveness. The themes are wide ranging. Many of them touch the problems of church life, some specifically the work of missions. Most relate themselves to the religious and moral life of the individual and are sermons of edification such as one might hear and would wish to hear from any Christian minister.

[1] "Posthumous Works," Vols. I and II.

Bishop Hopkins of Vermont was perhaps the most extreme ecclesiastical reactionist and political conservative of this school. In the most active period of his public life he was prominent, and offensively so, as the friend of the south in its slavery and subsequent secession agitations, and was its apologist and measurably its defender. He was a vigorous and uncompromising controversialist, never more at home than in the thick of battle. In early life he had entered upon a business career, and subsequently became a lawyer. In this sphere he had developed a prodigious activity and had trained himself in practical life to handle men and to bring things to pass. This business and professional life, in connection with the agitations of his time, seemed to evoke the aggressive and combative tendencies of a restlessly irritable mind. He was a so-called self-made man and entered the ministry without any special theological training. Like many another man of affairs in the earlier and in the later history of the church, he illustrates the possibilities for eminent success of the mature and practically trained man when transferred from the secular to the sacred calling. Without the training of the schools he was at short notice transferred from the law office to the rectorship of Trinity Church, New York. He was of course a man of unusual native gifts, a painter, a musician, an architect, a poet, a writer upon a great variety of subjects, not without a gift for theology, a natural leader, and a forceful preacher. In the state of Vermont and in the city of Burlington, where for twenty-seven years he had charge of the Episcopal church, he left behind the tradition of a skilful polemist and controversialist, a brilliant debater, a facile extemporaneous preacher and platform orator, of an ingenious and extravagant interpreter of ecclesiastical symbolism, and of an ardent devotee of the dogmatic principle in theology. The subjects with which he grappled, and always with characteristic confidence and

aggressive eagerness, were numerous. No collection of sermons remains, but the number of homiletic monographs is large and covers a wide field of subjects that were in agitation in his day.

Bishop Doane of New Jersey, at one time associated with Bishop Hobart at Trinity Church, and subsequently one of Phillips Brooks' predecessors at Trinity Church, Boston, was, like his New York colleague, active in the educational interests of his school. He was at one time professor of English Literature in the Episcopal College at Hartford, Conn., now known as Trinity, and was editor of one of the religious journals of his school. He founded the first girls' college connected with his church and a boys' school which developed into Burlington College, and he anticipated the subsequent enterprise that has given the country so many excellently endowed and equipped preparatory schools for young men and women. He was a poet of more than ordinary gifts, and a volume of his poems contains some of the best-known and most cherished hymns that are found in all church hymnals. Like most of his school, especially in the early period, he was a controversialist. By his gifts as a preacher he enriched the homiletic standards of his school, as by his poetic and liturgical gifts he enriched its worship. There remains a volume of his sermons published in England and dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, containing occasional discourses, all but one of which were preached in this country, and official addresses to his clergy.[1] They touch important church questions, especially the missionary interests of the church, and include themes that are essential to the edification of the individual Christian life, and which, although abundantly colored by his high churchmanship, are well adapted to this end.

Dr. DeKoven of Wisconsin, founder of Racine College,

[1] "Sermons on Various Occasions, with Three Charges," 1842.

prominent in the west in general high-church propagandism, and especially, like Hobart and Doane in the east, in educational movements, prominent also, and successfully so, in the controversies of the church that threatened schism, was among the most gifted and versatile of those representatives of his school that won public attention a little later. As a master of assemblies, who in this respect held the leadership of his school, but who has left chiefly his institutional work and but little of a literary character behind, he won a respectful hearing from all schools, despite the exaggerations of his churchmanship, and held the allegiance of his kind because of them.

These leaders, and others that might be classed with them, were men of training and culture according to the type common in their day and school, and, although not equal in power of eloquence to many in the rival school, were men of apologetic skill and of a forcefulness and persuasiveness of speech fully adequate to the demands of their propaganda.

2. A more moderate estimate of institutional Christianity is found in "low" Episcopacy. The term suggests the subordination of the formal to the material aspects of religion. It assumes the supremacy of what is inward, experimental, and real in the Christian life. It finds no saving significance or even essential value in external forms and ordinances as such. They are not productive sources of regenerate life but only agencies that are useful in its promotion. Their ultimate value is conditioned by the spiritual attitude of their subjects with respect to them. The authority of the church is not found primarily in its apostolic order, nor the validity of its ministry in apostolic succession. It represents the subjective principle in a church that is strongly committed to external ecclesiastical order. As the "evangelical" branch of the church it holds supreme attention to the central realities of the Gospel of Redemption, and in this allies

itself with all the chief Protestant communions. It lays more stress upon doctrine than upon organization and upon teaching than upon ritual. As expressive of the realities of the inner life its preaching has always borne the experimental note. As the utterance of devout piety it has always been characterized by a certain effusiveness of sentiment and ardor of emotion. In its allegiance to Calvinistic anthropology it has laid much stress upon the doctrine of human depravity, has made prominent the necessity of regeneration and of conscious consecration to Christ, and has exalted the life of personal faith that brings the soul into immediate relation with Christ and holds it in perpetual devotion to and in living fellowship with Him as Redeemer and Lord. The forces that produce and foster piety are the great, outstanding, authoritatively given truths and facts of redemptive religion. They are incorporated in the creeds of the church, and they are interpreted by its ordinances and its symbols, but they are accepted not primarily upon the basis of ecclesiastical authority, but partly upon the ground of their verification in Christian experience and partly upon the basis of Biblical authority. The incarnation and the atonement are the great central objective realities with which the pulpit of the evangelical school has dealt. In its Christology supreme emphasis has in general been laid upon the deity of Christ; and the significance of His humanity, whether with respect to an adequate conception of His being, His character, or His work, has sometimes failed of appropriate recognition. The power of the atonement is largely in its Godward significance, as the ground of pardon and justification, but ultimately in its persuasive power in winning the allegiance of the human heart. The message of the cross is its central message, and its pathos and passion have been depicted with great vividness of imaginative representation and with great power of emotion. Its eschatology has been based upon Calvinistic

conceptions of God. The dark reality of sin has been made prominent, and the preacher's sense of the moral peril of the sinner has been expressed with dramatic intensity. In line with the emphasis which it lays upon the subjective experience of religion it finds in the sacraments primarily the symbols of the inner appropriation of redemption. They are symbols of the grace within rather than of the grace that stands for us and may be ours. As dealing with the great realities of redemptive religion that touch the individual life and in line with its Calvinism, that lays supreme accent upon individual regeneration and conversion, the preaching of low Episcopacy has aimed at the salvation of the individual soul and has therefore cultivated the evangelistic type to a large extent. It has even allied itself with the preaching of other communions in promoting revivals of religion, and has sought to develop a conscious religious experience in all those who enter the fellowship of the church. Its emotional and sentimental quality has secured for it a distinctive forcefulness and persuasiveness, but in intellectual and ethical virility it has often been defective and has sometimes degenerated into cant.

Devoted to the subjective and experimental principle, it has still held firmly, although not intemperately or irrationally, to the importance for Christianity of the visible, historic church. It has never ceased to lay stress especially upon the historic continuity of the church. The external unity and stability of church life are necessary in order that in the best and fullest sense the church may become an agency for promoting the interests of Christianity as the religion of redemptive experience and life. Even a moderate and reasonable churchman like Dean Hodges of the Cambridge Divinity School can in our own day venture the statement that "alone of all the Protestant communions, the Episcopal church represents and is the original society which Jesus Christ Himself established

in this world." [1] It is the only Protestant church of which this can be affirmed. And this is not a mere theory that may be supported by probable evidence, but is an incontestable historic fact.

Now it must be conceded that if this claim could be vindicated it would give the preacher a very commanding position. To be able to believe that Christ personally supervised the organization of the Christian church and that one serves the only church that was thus instituted is surely a condition of ministerial power. To be able to believe it, even without adequate verification, is manifestly of great practical value to the Episcopal minister. This faith has fostered the historic spirit in church life. It has encouraged the belief that there are things of value that are "more than twenty-four hours old." It has nurtured a churchly habit of mind, whose product is institutional loyalty and loving devotion to those committed to one's official charge. It has promoted a conservative habit, which discloses itself in allegiance to church authority, in veneration for ancient usage, in respect for established ordinances, in steadiness of mind in times of transition, in sympathetic interpretation of the truth of historic creeds, in liturgical culture through archaic forms, and all this has availed in the preaching of evangelical Episcopacy. But in order to realize something of all this it is not necessary for the preacher to accept these unverified claims. It is not necessary, nor is it possible, to believe that Christ personally established any visible church at all. There is no adequate evidence that He regarded the founding of visible institutions as a part of His mission. One may believe that the historic church was self-evolved from the Pentecostal forces of the Christian life, that in the processes of its development it naturally took various forms, some of which expressed the spirit and principles of Christianity less fully than others, so that a return to the earlier sim-

[1] "The Episcopal Church," 53.

plicity and reality became necessary. One may deny that any church is strictly apostolic in the formal sense and acknowledge that all churches that are organized in the Spirit of Christ and in the principles of His religion may be apostolic in the material sense. And such an one may believe in the historic church and win the strength that comes from an assured connection with some of the forms, at least, of its early life. The autonomous churches have all of them sought to get back into touch with the apostolic church. "Behind the mountains there are also people," and they have kinship with many who from the hither side have scaled the heights of formal ecclesiasticism and who have gone down to greet and join their kindred on the other side. They have laid more stress upon the spirit than upon the form of the apostolic church, upon the principles the church incorporates than upon the modes of their manifestation. But in so far as they have ground for believing that they perpetuate approximately the simple, free forms of the early church they have found their advantage in it. All Protestant Christians need more respect for the visible institutes of the church, for its historic basis, and its historic forms. We may dissent from the apostolicity even of the temperate evangelical churchman, but we must recognize its power in the work of the preacher. And yet it is not the objective, but the subjective, principle that has been chiefly potent in the preaching of "low" Episcopacy. American, like Anglican, evangelicalism has produced and trained the best preachers of the church. Many who subsequently broke with it secured from it their earliest and choicest nurture, and they have carried into other spheres the spirit and the power of these early associations. This was true in an eminent degree of Bishop Phillips Brooks. In every stage of his career we see the lingering influence. It was here that his religious life developed, and it was this that became the primal inspiration of his power. In the early

period of American history the evangelical school had precedence, and for its zeal and piety it is entitled to our gratitude. The names of its prominent men in official life during subsequent years have become household words in all Protestant communions. To recall them is to recall the memories of other days in many and diverse religious circles. They were men of not less ability and learning than their opponents, the rival school, and in convincing and persuasive power as preachers they were their superiors. The name of Bishop Potter of Pennsylvania stands for intellectual accomplishments, statesmanlike scope of vision, executive skill and force, not less than persuasive speech, the transmission of which may perhaps be discovered in his gifted son, the present senior Bishop of New York City. Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio has long been known in the "dissenting" schools in his stately dignity, his persistent industry, his piety, his patriotism, his social influence, and the evangelical and Biblical tone of his preaching. Bishop Bedell, his associate and ultimate successor in the bishopric of Ohio, was long ago discovered even by strangers in his admirable work entitled "The Pastor," which discloses not only the devout and practical spirit of this model bishop but the temper and tone of the ministers of the "evangelical" church of his day. In many religious circles of New England not connected with his own communion, the name of the gifted, accomplished, broad-minded, and large-hearted Bishop George Burgess was wont to be mentioned a generation ago, as the writer well recalls, in terms of loving veneration, and in the state of Maine, whose first Episcopal bishop he was, among a population wedded to the ways of the autonomous church, he has left the tradition of a Christian courtesy and kindliness, ecclesiastical generosity, a literary culture, and persuasive public speech that are an honor to his school and his church. In Massachusetts, the centre of what has been called the old "established

church" of New England, something more than the well-known generosity and self-sacrifice, spiritual and material, and the dogged English pluck and persistence with which he devoted himself to the interests of his church, must account for the esteem and confidence in which Bishop Eastburn was regarded in the ecclesiastical community. They are found also in the touching points he presented to the entire evangelical church and in the promise in him of larger things than were found in the school in which he had been nurtured. Perhaps his Presbyterian nurture and his transient affiliation with Congregationalism may have disclosed their results in the preintimations of a broader churchmanship which emerged later on in the ecclesiastical career of Bishop Clark of Rhode Island and may explain the sentiment of comradeship with which progressive "dissenting" ministers have regarded him. It was in the expansion of men of this type that broad churchmanship found its source.

The great preacher of this school, if not of the entire church of his day, was Dr. Alexander H. Vinton. He was educated for the medical profession, and in the practice of it spent the first three years of his public life in Pomfret, Conn., his native town. His methodical habit of mind and his caution and reverence for facts may disclose the results of his scientific training, but he brought to the ministry, which he entered in the maturity of his powers, a distinctively theological mind and a rhetorical and oratorical equipment that gave him commanding influence in the cities of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, where he spent his ministerial life. He will always be known as the boyhood pastor of Phillips Brooks. As rector of St. Paul's, Boston, he had in charge the shaping of that great character from the age of six years until entrance upon college life, and as rector of Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, he was also Brooks' predecessor. They were lifelong friends, and the permanent influence of the elder over the younger

man was most marked and most salutary. In theology he was a moderate Calvinist, after the type of his school and day, and the two great countertruths of his preaching were the atonement, whose objective import was prominent in his teaching and conversion, upon the conscious assurance of which in the subject he placed proportionate emphasis. If in later years the young disciple drifted from the teaching of his master, he could still testify[1] that Dr. Vinton never preached an irrational theology. In his hands it was always made "respectable," even though it might not always be accepted. His mind was of the logical order and he handled skilfully the strong and closely related features of his subject. But he was not lacking in the ardor and the imaginative touch of the true preacher. His preaching was weighty in thought and forceful in cumulative impression. He was a careful, cautious, consistent thinker, distrustful of theological innovations, but not of an intolerant spirit, and in his wise conservatism a good counterweight against all rashness and crudeness. Bishop Brooks regarded him as "the great Presbyter of the church,"[1] whose introduction to the bishopric "would have been a loss and not a gain," for "it would have separated him from the pulpit where he belonged." Two volumes of sermons only partially vindicate the estimate, for they inadequately perpetuate the impressive personality of the man. Of his theological and Biblical learning he availed himself in his mid-week lectures, which were fruitful in the homes of his people and sources of edification to his congregation and furnished an example of pastoral wisdom which Phillips Brooks followed later on as rector of Trinity Church. Dr. Vinton has been spoken of as "Websterian" in mould. His voice was that of an orator and answered to a commanding physical personality. In Boston, notable in his day for exceptionally brilliant public speakers, he

[1] "Life of Phillips Brooks," Vol. II, 306.

was a prominent figure, and was much sought for the pulpit and the platform in the advocacy of many forms of public philanthropy.

A still more pronounced and aggressive low churchman, in even closer touch with all evangelical churches, and more widely known beyond his own communion, was Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, for thirty years rector of St. George's Church, New York. He was a man who had evidently been led in the experiences of his own Christian life to cherish a genuine spiritual freedom, and the freedom of the general ecclesiastical atmosphere of Massachusetts, the state of his nativity and of his early nurture, was doubtless tributary to its development. He was enthusiastically devoted to all questions of public morality and worked in their interest beyond ecclesiastical lines, being prominent in the anti-slavery agitation and in the temperance reform. He freely supported the voluntary principle in interdenominational, Christian, and philanthropic enterprises and was in particular a strong and influential advocate of the Sunday-school movement. Of an "authority that opposes freedom" he was intolerant, although as a church rector he was, in the language of Bishop Bedell in his memorial discourse, "a judicious autocrat." He cordially approved of the revival movements that were common in the church life of the nonliturgical churches of his day, and approved of the course of Phillips Brooks in his support of Mr. Moody's revival work in Boston, and, in vindication of his approbation, declared that he "always united with those faithful brethren" in revival effort because he believed them to be "doing God's work."[1] He had all the gifts, appointments, and training of an extraordinary preacher, and especially of an extraordinary pastor. His call to the Christian ministry was exceptionally distinct, and his consciousness of vocation was extraordinarily clear and strong. Nurtured in the literary

[1] *Ibid.*, 149.

atmosphere of Boston and educated at Harvard College, he carried into his work the intellectual outfit of the preacher. Connected with a family engaged in mercantile pursuits and with a personal experience of two years in commercial life, he was early trained into business habits that proved of ultimate advantage in ordering the affairs of his church and parish. By the ardor of his personal piety and by his association as student-pupil in theology with Bishop Griswold, he was, from the first, strongly committed to evangelicalism, and to it he held tenaciously through all the changes in his church which he lived to behold. He was a man of refinement and culture, and bore in his countenance the marks of a Christian gentleman. He was a man of delicate spiritual susceptibilities and impulses, but also of moral aggressiveness as a church or rather party leader, and a little uncompromising in his defence of his principles. His convictions were intense, his tone positive, his method polemical, and he lacked the breadth requisite for a comprehensive leadership. He was the peer of Dr. Vinton in his gifts as a preacher, although different in type and in general more popular. His method of preaching had the formal clearness of outline that was in harmony with the homiletic training of his day, and his style of speech, although that of a modest and retiring gentleman, had the forcefulness of a personal and vocal intensity that drove the truth home. The volume of discourses entitled "The Israel of God"[1] furnishes an excellent illustration of his preaching. Even a casual observation of his themes and texts discloses not only its evangelical but its evangelistic quality, and closer examination intensifies the impression. The little monograph entitled "Fellowship with Christ,"[2] designed for young converts, and especially as a guide to those who are about to enter the fellowship of the church

[1] "A Series of Practical Sermons," 1845.
[2] "A Guide to the Sacraments," 1854.

and to receive its sacraments, and is of value to all such in our own day, discloses still more fully the devout and earnest evangelicalism of his spirit.

3. The more broadly liberal and pronouncedly modern school of American Episcopacy has become widely known in all the churches of the country, especially through the public career of its great representative, Phillips Brooks. It stands for a profoundly interesting movement in American church life, whose modifying influence has been powerful within its own ecclesiastical bounds and is not inconsiderable outside of them. But it must not detain us long. The characteristic features of its preaching are readily suggested by the term that interprets its theological and ecclesiastical position. Its breadth is its distinguishing note. Its message is the great message of the kingdom of redemption, and the strength of its presentation is conditioned by the freedom and fulness of its subjective appropriation in the soul of the preacher. It is not possible to linger with its theological and ecclesiastical phenomena. Only a few can be touched.

Its conception of the nature and character of God as the Father and Redeemer of all mankind is large and generous and genuinely Christian. It therefore yields a type of theology that is wide ranging in its implications and that can be preached with great breadth and fulness of sympathy and with great wealth of persuasiveness. This conception and representation of God's wide-reaching and comprehensively gracious relation with all men who are called to be the servant sons of His heavenly kingdom and the heirs of His heavenly inheritance, appeals to what is noblest, most generous, and most human in our natures.

Its broad estimate of God's self-revelation, as reaching indeed its hitherto highest objective form in the historic Christ, but as not wholly restricted to ages past, as not limited to an elect race, nor to elect individual men, nor exclusively to the Great Revealer Himself, but as still and

ever real and effective in the souls and lives of all men who are responsive to His ever present Spirit, this estimate furnishes a basis of appeal to all those strivings of the human spirit in which it seeks to come into immediate, inward communion with God or to all those possibilities even of an unstriving soul that may be awakened into realization of the immediate, ever present reality of God in this world and in the race which He has redeemed.

Its exalted estimate of the ideal manhood of men as revealed in Christ furnishes a basis for hope and confidence in the responsiveness of their souls to the pleadings of God's grace and in their ultimate salvability and conditions an optimistic message that gives strength and cheer to the heart of the preacher.

Its rich and fruitful conception of the divine humanity of Jesus, that brings Him near to men in His ideal and sinless completeness as their Saviour and Lord, lends itself to a message of His person that is most humanly and persuasively real. Its broad interpretation of the divine sacrifice of Jesus, as revealing the heart of God, as disclosing the principle of His moral government, as interpreting the meaning of all true human life, and as testing all true human character, cannot fail to yield a message that must be presented with great confidence as furnishing a moral motive potent to win men into practical sympathy with and into moral allegiance to His priestly life. The comprehensive ecclesiasticism that conceives the church as including ideally all the redeemed children of God, as being the true home of all mankind for which Jesus lived and died, stands behind a message that is most urgent in its assurance that all men have their only proper belonging in the kingdom of God's grace, and that as His children and subjects they come to their own only in coming into the fellowship of His church.

The stress that is laid upon the broad objective significance of the sacraments as the symbolic pledges of the great

outstanding historic facts of Christ's redemptive work, by virtue of which they belong in Christian right to all who, as their proper subjects, freely accept and appropriate their redemptive significance, and to all for whose education into the knowledge of Christ's redemption suitable provision has been made, must furnish strong appeal to a sense of Christian privilege and should foster a larger knowledge of the educative value of religious symbolism that could not fail to be efficacious in the upbuilding of Christian character.

Its liberal estimate of the practical relation of the forces of redemptive religion to all forms, phases, and spheres of human life has secured for the preaching of broad Episcopacy an ethical comprehensiveness that is unsurpassed and that has exerted a salutary influence not only upon this school, but upon all other ecclesiastical communions. In broadening the ethical scope of the Christian pulpit, the preachers of this school have won a commanding position.

The subjective principle in religion is more fully realized by this than by any other branch of the church. And yet it holds with firmness to the historic continuity of the visible church and thus legitimates its right to a place in organized Episcopacy. Even the "Giant Great Heart" of the broad school, whose church was idealized humanity, who accepted Episcopal government not as a matter of historic tradition or of apostolic authority, but as a matter of ecclesiastical effectiveness and orderliness, even he, stout individualist though he was, increasingly subordinated liberty with respect to the church to service in subjection to it, and, as bishop, near the close of his life, he might sometimes humorously "pity" the subjects of his own episcopal authority, but rigidly, like a "judicious autocrat," demanded submission to it.[1]

We shall not be able to do justice even to the most

[1] "Life of Phillips Brooks," Vol. II, 887.

prominent of the many gifted preachers of this school, who, in breadth of intelligence, catholicity of spirit, wealth of culture, and grace or force of speech, hold easily the leadership in the pulpit of the church. Its prince, of course, was Phillips Brooks,[1] and he in fact surpassed all other preachers of American Episcopacy in its entire history.

Dr. Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania, subsequently of New York, although in a party sense not classed as a broad churchman, was prominent in movements with which this school has been allied and was devoted to interests for many of which it has contended. By his gifts and accomplishments, by the breadth of his sympathies, and by his genius for leadership, he was admirably fitted to the task of broadening and unifying the entire church, in which he was ultimately measurably successful, and to which the broad church has in various ways contributed. Dr. Muhlenberg's efforts were all tributary to the enrichment of the life of the church and to the elevation of its homiletical and liturgical standards.

Dr. Edward A. Washburn, native of Boston, bred in Congregationalism, graduate of Harvard, product of the best culture, ecclesiastical and academic, that New England could give, was the scholar and thinker of this school and for the more distinctively intellectual class its most influential preacher. A philosophical churchman, as he called himself, he was as of necessity a broad churchman, and by his intellectual vigor and persuasiveness was a strong defender and a wide-ranging advocate of this type of churchmanship.

Bishop Frederick D. Huntington was by his early associations and career precommitted to theological and ecclesiastical catholicity. Transplanted from Unitarianism, of which he was only a moderate adherent, and from the atmosphere of Harvard, where he was college

[1] See "Representative Modern Preachers," Ch. V.

preacher and professor of Christian ethics, he carried with him into the Episcopal church the best that Unitarianism can do for any man. He carried the principle and the mental habit of theological independence and of tolerance for all schools of theological thinkers. He carried also that which Unitarianism has seemed unable adequately to promote — a vigorous and aggressive evangelical spirit. As a preacher he was notable for the breadth and fertility of his thought, for the affluence and copiousness of his literary style, and for his moral and religious helpfulness. In all Christian circles he has become known especially through his two volumes of sermons, "Christian Believing and Living" [1] and "Sermons for the People," [2] which have been before the public for many years, and he is known less widely, and chiefly in his own communion, in other products not less significant of later years.

Dr. David H. Greer, for seventeen years rector of St. Bartholomew's and now bishop coadjutor with Bishop Potter of New York City, is regarded by many as, after Phillips Brooks, the most effective popular preacher in the church. A Southerner by birth, nurture, and education, one naturally looks for and seems to find in his rhetorical and oratorical equipment the southerner's preaching gifts. His work at St. Bartholomew's is a conspicuous witness to the success of an industrious and skilful leadership in practical administration and not the less, despite most arduous executive tasks, to a continuous and undiminished pulpit productiveness.

"The Preacher and his Place," Yale Lyman Beecher Lectures for the year 1895, is of value for its broad estimate of the preacher's function, its liberal interpretation of his proper attitude with respect to the theological symbols of the church, for its catholicity of spirit, and for its contribution to the preacher's knowledge of comprehensive and effective church leadership.

[1] 1860. [2] 1869.

Dr. William S. Rainsford, for twenty-five years rector of St. George's, New York, has been, literally and metaphorically, one of the most striking figures in the church. Irish by birth and English by education, he has done full justice to the fiery enthusiasm and the stalwart independence that may be expected from such sources. As a preacher he is one of the manliest and most fearless of men. Not overdelicate in fibre, nor overrefined in culture, never overnice, and often rough in speech, never "picking his words in a gale of wind," offhand in method, direct in appeal, fertile in conception, picturesque in illustration, of passionate emotion, of stentorian voice, a natural orator, a massive personality all round, he has made a powerful impression upon his generation which will not pass with his too early withdrawal from the field of conflict. Young men, especially in student and in commercial and industrial life, will not readily forget his brave, ringing words. "A Preacher's Story of his Work," characteristically outspoken, unconventional, and intense, is an extraordinarily interesting portraiture of his professional life, duly criticised for its unecclesiastical liberality, but worthily appreciated for its sincerity and reality. "Sermons preached in St. George's" in their suggestion of mental and moral strength, their emotional intensity, their freedom and facility, their pithy and pungent diction, reveal the sources of his power even to those who are not familiar with his preaching, and those who know him seem to catch the very tones of his voice and to behold the stalwart personality emergent from his words.

Dr. William R. Huntington, whose undiminished acceptableness as a preacher in the arduous and varied tasks of the rectorship of Grace Church, New York, for more than twenty-three years, attests his intellectual fertility and his power to hold the moral and spiritual allegiance of men, may justly be characterized as the most variously accomplished preacher of his church. He has

written copiously upon a variety of subjects, — theological, ecclesiastical, and liturgical, — and all his products disclose the predominance of æsthetic culture. His mind is poetic in quality and expresses itself not only in his poems, of which he has published a volume, but in his discourses. Their graceful literary style and the refined elocutionary form in which they are uttered disclose the best sources of academic training, and the fibre of their substance and their elevated and sympathetic tone disclose the dominance of the religious and ethical spirit.

Within the last forty years American Episcopacy has undergone great changes and has made rapid strides. Its advance has been along practical lines. Its educational institutions have been multiplied, enlarged, and enriched, and its educational interests have been made tributary to the practical power of the church. Its church life has expanded, its missionary activity has been intensified, and no body of churches is richer in philanthropic institutions. More than three-fourths of its churches are free, and its efforts to reach the unblessed classes are hardly surpassed by those churches that have found in such efforts their historic vocation. Its different schools have come into closer touch. The lines that separated them have become partially effaced. In all branches worship has been enriched, its preaching approximates a common type, and everywhere it is the ethical note that is predominant. In the development of its ecclesiastical comprehensiveness, by which it has been demonstrated that divergent schools of thought may be tolerated and may work harmoniously within the same organization, it has attained to a fuller consciousness of unity. This increasing consciousness of oneness of life, those liturgical enrichments that have interpreted an increasing sense of want in the nonliturgical communions, its demonstrated power to reach the common, practical life of men, the change of diocesan boundaries

which are no longer limited by state lines, a change by which different sections of the church have been brought into closer contact, and its increasing consciousness of historic life, — all these things have fostered an aspiration to become the national church of this country, and a centre about which all other churches may rally. Whether this aspiration will ever be realized is another question. Possibly other communions that have carried a smaller ecclesiastical cargo and have less to throw overboard may present a broader basis for union and may have a more hopeful outlook. But whatever the future may have in store, it is certain that the spirit of modern American Episcopacy has greatly broadened, has become more Christian and more patriotic and more practical, and that this has had a powerful influence in broadening and enriching its pulpit.

vi. 1. The chief contribution of Methodism to American preaching is in the realm of moral and religious feeling. Its distinguishing feature is the ardor of its piety and its "enthusiasm of humanity." Its message has always been one of passionate intensity. No distinctively ecclesiastical influence upon the emotional effectiveness of the pulpit has surpassed it. To the evangelical tone and the evangelistic aim in preaching it has always been true, and in the sphere of religious conquest it has taken the place of supremacy among all our Protestant communions. It is the dominance of its experimental principle that has secured for it an almost unexampled forcefulness. It originated in a revolt of the heart against a dead orthodoxy and a soulless ecclesiastical formalism. Its founder, although a man of large intellectual endowment and of thorough intellectual equipment, was essentially a mystic of the practical type. To his religious development the writings and the personal influence of prominent mystics in different branches of the church were tributary. If the conditions of thought had been favorable and he

had devoted himself to the task, he perhaps might have made a new and valuable contribution to theology. But he did not. He only modified, bettered, and consecrated a contribution that had already been made. But what he left was doubtless a richer and a more permanent gift to the world. He impressed upon his followers a strength and productiveness of religious feeling that has been dominant in their personal and associate activities to this day. Its subjective principle takes the form of the witness of the Holy Spirit in the individual believer and in the community of believers. Immediateness of relation with the source of all inspiration and spiritual power, instantaneous conversion and justification and full assurance of personal salvation, are characteristic features in the development of this principle. The humblest as well as the most exalted, the most ignorant as well as the most learned, may be subjects of the witnessing Spirit. From the religious point of view, therefore, Methodism is a great spiritual democracy after the tone if not the pattern of the early church, and there are incorporated in its fundamental principle many features of a theology that may be called modern, but it emerges in experimental rather than in reflective or scientific form. Methodism has within it vast possibilities of a newly developed theology of experience that should align it with what is best in the theologic thought of our day.

It is the necessity of its fundamental principle that it should be preëminently a witnessing church. For the Spirit that bears witness with our spirit that we are the children of God, that we are redeemed from sin, and have entered the life of an assured salvation, and are heirs of a heavenly inheritance must become a witness-producing power in and for the church. It is the impulse, the privilege, and not less the duty, of the entire brotherhood and sisterhood to give free and full expression to the realities of the inner life and thus to contribute to

the treasures of Christian experience that may inspire and edify the church. In the religious sphere the laity exercise a freedom that is not surpassed by that of any other Protestant communion. It is a freedom that is out of proportion, and one might say out of harmony, with that restricted ecclesiastical freedom that has been somewhat reluctantly conceded to them. It was the free, prophetic spirit of Wesley's mother that appealed to a like spirit within him and withheld his hand when he would have imposed ecclesiastical conditions to the witness of the Spirit in the inspired utterance of the layman Thomas Maxfield. "Take care what you do," said this inspired saint, "with respect to that young man, for he is as surely called of God to preach as you are." It was also the inspired utterance of a woman that bore witness against the degeneracy of religious life in the early history of American Methodism and recalled it to better ways. The lay preaching of the church, that has been so largely tributary to its rapid advance, is an expression of this spiritual freedom, and it is possible that after all the laity of the Methodist church may exert a spiritual influence which no enlargement of their ecclesiastical power could augment.

It is in line with this subjective principle that supreme accent should be placed upon the inward call of the Holy Spirit to the official ministry of the church. It was to this that its founder attached supreme importance, trained although he had been as a high churchman, and "judicious autocrat" ecclesiastically though he became in his own communion. Above the call of the church and above its consecration he placed the inward, immediate, divine call. So potent is this inward, spiritual call that Methodism tends somewhat to minimize the call of God through a man's nature and seems to lay more stress upon the training of meagre gifts than upon an original endowment with larger gifts. All the complex factors

that should enter into a comprehensive estimate of the validity of a minister's call to the service of the church must find their centre in the direct and distinct call of the Holy Spirit. The gifts of common grace are not enough, not enough the gifts of nature, original or acquired, nor the guidance of Providence, nor the desire to make the most and best of one's personal life or to devote one's self to the interests of one's fellow-men. That these factors may properly be estimated as essential to the call, there must be added that inward constraint and force of conviction that are the voice of the Spirit of God. Otherwise no man is sanctioned in entering the ministry. Mr. Spurgeon was accustomed to say to his students, "Don't enter the ministry, if you can help it." The utterance contained a good indorsement of the Methodist conception of a ministerial call.

It is a necessity of the specific forms which its experimental principle assumes that the Methodist church should be by preëminence a revival church. As such it originated and it has never lost this characteristic mark. More fully than any other Protestant church is it committed to the evangelistic type of preaching. Because evangelistic substance is of supreme importance, those great truths and facts of redemptive religion that take hold of the heart and conscience have always had precedence in the preacher's message. Because apostolic preaching was so largely of this type the preacher is counselled to make it an object of special study and to seek his inspiration in it. To bring pastoral life, where the passion for saving men may be fully nourished and where the requisite evangelistic fervor may be secured, into close touch with the message of the pulpit is always an important consideration in the shepherding of souls. And it is this evangelistic spirit that gives a certain distinctive tone and quality to the pastoral type of preaching, which aims at the education and edification of the

Christian community, and which, in the enlargement of intellectual life and increase of literary culture, is more fully developed in all sections of the Methodist church in all parts of the country.

A divine call to the ministry presupposes a strong sense of the importance of preaching with reference to "saving immortal souls," and with this aim the preacher expects and has a right to expect immediate divine aid in his proclamation. Rightly does he assume that the evangelistic charism of Paul and of the early Christian preachers, as discussed in 1 Cor. ii. cannot be limited to the apostolic church. Such preaching demands immediate and manifest results, and no sermon should be regarded as reaching its legitimate aim without them. Hence the highly emotional, often ecstatic, and always forceful and persuasive quality of it. The hortatory element has always been prominent. So important is it that it is not only expected of the ordinary pastoral preacher, but a special class of preachers is appointed for this service, and the habit of exhortation, not only upon the basis of the preacher's own discourse, which only thus is worthily complete, but upon the basis of others' preaching, has never been wholly lost. To utilize the providences of life for purposes of moral incentive is in line with the impressional character of Methodist preaching. The funeral discourse has been a prominent homiletic product in the Methodist church, and perhaps still is more common than in many other religious communions. In the Episcopal church one rarely hears a funeral discourse. In the Methodist church the preacher should hear the voice of death and fail not to inculcate its lessons. Its loyalty to men of light and leading within its ranks is highly commendable, and the free utterances of its preachers in prayer and address in memorial services for the dead are often of a most profoundly impressive character. To interpret the providences of human

life, according to their conception of them, has been an interesting and a prominent specialty of the Methodist preachers. Few preachers have ever surpassed Bishop Simpson in his power to impress upon men the mysterious but holy and gracious significance of the Divine Providence.

The evangelistic and impressional character of Methodist preaching naturally seeks the extemporaneous form. In order to attain to skill and effectiveness in it men must begin early. The habit of bearing witness for Christ in the public assembly has been tributary to the production of a special class of lay preachers, and the man who would be available for a higher official ministry must have years of training in the lower school. Preaching from the manuscript is more common to-day than in years past. In instructive quality there may be a gain here, but in that impressive power which has been so distinctive a mark of Methodism it is questionable whether there may not be a loss. But the church is committed to the extemporaneous method, and its influence in the introduction of it into other communions has been powerful, and it is certain that it will not reverse its record. "Among the great preachers of the Methodist church," says Dr. Kidder,[1] "either in Europe or America, it is not known that one was ever an habitual reader of sermons." It is defended as the "normal method of sermon speech"[2] and it is advocated as placing the preacher in a "position to receive aid from on high when speaking."[3] Its importance as a support for the evangelistic type of preaching is evident. Platform speaking is advocated, and there are probably a larger number of effective platform speakers in the Methodist church than in any other. The effect of this sort of speech upon preaching is manifest. Self-possession, directness, pertinence, and concreteness are qualities that bear witness. The sympathetic element

[1] "Homiletics," 489. [2] *Ibid.*, 312. [3] *Ibid.*, 314.

is accentuated, and above all a holy unction, the speech of a pious heart. In training, fluency and freedom of speech are put in the forefront. Accuracy may well be subordinate to these qualities and the accuracy which should follow must be that of popular diction. Forcefulness is the crowning rhetorical virtue. The power of the truth is never minimized by the Methodist church, but the forcefulness of the preacher and the inspiration of a consecrated personality are coördinate with it. Street, field, and camp-meeting speech have been tributary to extemporaneous power. It abounds in anecdote and in citation from familiar Scriptures and hymns. As the utterance of strong feeling and conviction, Methodist preaching is also a strongly imaginative utterance. It sometimes deals with types of figurative language not common in our day. The rhetorical figure of vision in the hands of Bishop Simpson was used with great impressiveness. Modern rhetorical tastes have greatly modified all this, and an element of reflective sobriety largely takes the place of rhetorical exuberance. But the emotional, the sympathetic quality will always witness to the subjective and experimental basis of the preaching of the church.

As the revival church, Methodism is also the reform church. The evangelistic element has developed the ethical element. It began as, and it has never ceased to be, a great missionary church. Its philanthropic activities are coeval with its evangelistic enterprise. Upon the missionary life of the modern church no one religious influence is comparable with it. But its religious life has been the inspiration of all its philanthropies. It is organized as a philanthropic institution, and its method is direct. Its compact ecclesiasticism is singularly effective, internally and externally. But its philanthropies are not limited by ecclesiastical boundaries. All genuine philanthropy finds in it a ready response. To the temperance reform

no branch of the church has been more completely, more continuously, more consistently, more conscientiously, if not always more wisely devoted. Its preachers are preëminently, in some spheres, reform preachers. Their influence in political reform has not always been what might have been desired or expected, but in reforms outside the sphere of politics they have led the van.

It is manifest that Methodism has never attached supreme importance to the intellectual or æsthetic elements in religion. Its original revolt, in so far as it had a distinctively intellectual or doctrinal basis, was not against the fundamental teachings of the Anglican church, but against the tyrannical Calvinism that was prevalent in the Puritan rather than in the Anglican churches. But it was characteristically a religious rather than an intellectual revolt and its influence in freeing the American churches from the grip of Calvinism and in pushing to the front the evangelistic and ethical elements of Christianity has been powerful. It has never laid a heavy exaction upon the theological beliefs of its constituencies. Its teachings have always dealt largely with the experimental aspects of the truth and have always been tributary to practical life. In line with its theological traditions it appeals to the objective authority of the Bible and rests the claims of Christianity upon its external evidences. But it has never failed to lay due stress upon the internal evidences and its chief teachings have always been such as find ready verification in the realities of religious experience. The freedom and largeness of God's grace, the suffering love of Christ, the universality and practical availingness of the atonement, the depravity of the human heart, the necessity of regeneration, the possibility of instantaneous justification and conversion, the freedom of the human spirit, the witnessing power of the Holy Ghost in the souls of believers, the certitude of Christian experience, the possibility of Christian perfection, the

glory of the heavenly life, and the terrors of eternal death, — these are some of the themes upon which Methodism has dealt, with a practical power that has quickened and controlled the religious life. Its doctrinal standards have confessedly undergone no material change. Individual preachers and teachers, it is true, have pushed beyond their boundaries into new and modern fields of thought, and in fact in the presentation of its theology by all its leading preachers to-day one will find but little that is archaic. One will recognize the modern note in their methods of interpretation and at the same time will not miss what is vital to the interests of the practical Christian life. But the church nominally adheres to a type of theology that belongs to a past age. To the scientific aspects of theology it has made no notable contribution. In speculative theology it is not wholly at home, and the methods of critical and historical science have not been fully adopted, nor its results fully appropriated. Doctrinally it stands in a general way for theological conservatism. But its teachings have never failed to be tributary to the practical needs of the individual soul and to the moral welfare of human society.

The educational standards and methods of the Methodist church are in line with the exigencies and peculiarities of its history and their results appear in the quality of its preaching. It has never fully accepted the Protestant tradition of a learned ministry. It has never, it is true, ignored or undervalued the importance of an educated ministry in the more comprehensive and practical sense of the term. But it has had no leadership in the higher forms of scientific education in any field, and it has never demanded the highest type of technical or professional education for its ministry as a whole. Modern life has indeed modified the attitude of a considerable portion of the church with respect to the educational problem, and we cannot fail to see the significance of the change

for its future. Men of learning are not at discount in the church. The equipment of its universities, colleges, and professional schools is increasingly good, and they are sending out men into the ministry whose scientific training elevates, dignifies, and renders more worthily effective the practical training which they receive in the service of the church. Such men are among the most competent church leaders of our day.

One of the results of this broadening and modernizing of ministerial culture is the elimination or modification of certain idiosyncrasies which have been distinctive of Methodist preachers. While retaining desirable individual peculiarities and what is best in their own denominational training, the best preachers of the church approach the standards which, in this cosmopolitan age, have become a common possession of the preachers of all communions and all schools.

But it still remains true that Methodism lays special emphasis upon the practical aspects of ministerial education. Its supreme aim is to produce effective preachers and church leaders. Its work has from the first been limited to a considerable extent to the relatively uneducated classes, whose religious needs have not seemed to call for the highest professional training in their leaders. For a hundred years there were no first-class training schools for its ministry. The character of the work to which it has regarded itself as providentially assigned and its amazing success in the hands of practical, sagacious, forceful, and consecrated men without scholastic equipment have perhaps obscured or minimized the importance of the highest order of learning and scholarly equipment. At any rate it is clear enough that the value of the highest professional education has not been fully and universally recognized, and as a consequence its academic, scientific, and professional schools have developed slowly.

The "book concern" that supplies the denominational literature which the ministry is expected to advocate and push into use demonstrates by its financial prosperity the estimate in which it is held. That it has been strongly tributary to the ecclesiastical fortunes of Methodism there can be no question. But some forms of this literature, designed chiefly for home consumption, and bearing the ecclesiastical mark, like all denominational literature lacks the modern note and the touch of intellectual catholicity.

The theological and ministerial training schools of Methodism still, and wisely, seek and advocate the practical elements in professional education and aim at practical results. Under ecclesiastical control, they never escape supervision and are never allowed to lose sight of the importance of sending out preachers and church leaders into effective service. The minister's work is carefully adjusted to the needs of the people whom he is to serve. He is, therefore, taught much besides technical theology. With the Baptist communion, but much more fully, Methodism accepts the position that it is not necessary for every minister to be elaborately educated in order to be a useful servant of Christ. But it is necessary that every minister be adequately trained to meet the practical needs of the people to whom he ministers. The result is that while in the best equipped theological schools of the church there are not wanting those who share the product of the most advanced modern scientific culture, there are none that wholly fail to secure a practical training. This problem of adjusting the scientific and practical aspects of ministerial training is yet to be successfully met in the theological schools of all Protestant churches.

Study under leading Methodist church officials is also conducive to the production of practical men. The prevailing conception of the ministerial call tends in the

same general direction. The witnessing function of the church by virtue of which the entire brotherhood and sisterhood are encouraged to give expression to the inner realities of Christian experience has, as already indicated, fostered the gift of Christian speech. Lay preaching is a product of this witnessing Spirit. Men "learn to preach by preaching." Moreover, as church leaders, all Methodist ministers have had years of experience as laymen in the work of the church. By a positive message, spiritually appropriated and cogently enforced, they are expected to reach and win men. And they do it with notable effectiveness.

The influence of a strong, centralized ecclesiastical system is manifest in the preaching of Methodism. Its government is a pretty stiff form of external ecclesiastical authority. The laity of the church have doubtless become increasingly influential in its counsels, but a democratic age and nation have effected no very material modification in its rigid ecclesiasticism. It was obliged to abandon the Anglican church system. Its polity is not an inheritance from the Anglican communion. Most of its peculiarities of organization and administration are a product of the exigencies of its historic experience. But it has held with strong tenacity, and in many respects with singular success, to a concentrated official government, and it has been called the most imperial of all republican ecclesiastical systems. Yet its ultimate basis is not external. It rests upon no objective apostolic authority, and its basis is more than an objective delegated authority. Its rests ultimately upon the subjective divine call of its ministry. This call of its leaders the church has recognized and vindicated and upon this basis has committed power and authority to their hands. Slow as Mr. Wesley was in breaking with the mother church, he, from the first, gave precedence to the subjective principle, regarding ordination in any church as primarily a recognition by it

of a divine call to the ministry. It is upon the basis of this call of God that every church officer, from the bishop to the humblest local preacher, is placed in official trust. And it is the objective, authoritative vindication by the church of this subjective principle that has given character to its sturdy ecclesiasticism.

This combination of subjective freedom and external authority, of spiritual impulse and ecclesiastical control does not fail to disclose itself in the preaching of Methodism. Its leading characteristics are, as already indicated, conditioned by the dominance of its subjective principle. But in the average preacher one readily detects the ecclesiastical note. The traditions of a close ecclesiastical system are behind him. That he should feel the power of a strongly organized government and administration is not unnatural and is not matter for reproach. That the consciousness of achievement, the stimulus of success, a tone of positiveness, an air of certainty, the forcefulness of self-assertion, a certain pride of loyalty, and a certain exultation in the great triumphs of his church and in its hopes for the future should appear at times in his preaching is by no means an element of weakness, but rather of strength. But if one detects a certain querulousness and impatience of contradiction, a certain polemic severity and cocksureness and sense of easy triumph over venturesome critics of the ecclesiastical machinery, a tone of dogmatic assurance, and of sectarian provincialism, one questions whether the sense of ecclesiastical powerlessness that is very legitimately nourished in the autonomous communions may not be more effectively tributary to ecclesiastical modesty at least. And in fact one sometimes suspects that there may be a practical antinomy between the spiritual freedom and the ecclesiastical autocracy of the Methodist church. After all, does not spiritual freedom thrive best in an atmosphere of ecclesiastical freedom?

As Methodism is committed ecclesiastically to a close, externally ordered government, so ethically to a close, externally ordered, methodical life. The name it bears suggests the prominence of this characteristic, and the fact that it has been retained by the church is proof of the recognition of its importance. It is significant that it is the objective rather than the subjective principle that is accentuated in the name by which it is known To the inward piety of Methodism answers an external type of self-denial that reaches the measure of asceticism. This ascetic habit is of course regarded as a normal expression of piety. It was so in the case of Mr. Wesley. It was the elevation of his spirit that withdrew him from the fascinations of all forms of worldly life. Indulgences that were in themselves innocent he regarded as hostile to the welfare of the soul. This involved an effort to harmonize the Judaistic and Christian elements in religion, to combine the legal and evangelical elements. In the early history of Methodism this may have been fairly successful, but in the church's change of attitude toward the world, and especially in its changed conception as to what constitutes worldliness, the antinomy between the legal and evangelical principles has been made manifest. The external authority that would take the individual Christian under control with respect to the ordering of the conduct of his life does not seem altogether consonant with evangelical freedom and with that spontaneity of the inner life which gives wide scope to the spiritual impulses that are stored in the church and which permits the individual Christian to be a free witness bearer to the realities of the life of the Spirit. The committal of the church to the external, prohibitory method of dealing with the temperance problem is in line with the importance which it attaches to the legal method of ordering the affairs of life. But it has become evident that the legal cannot be successfully combined with the evangelical

principle, and the effort to order the external life of the individual Christian in the Methodist church has failed. We find an antinomy of a different sort in the Episcopal church. The individual Christian is measurably free in the ordering of his own personal life, but subject to close authority in the ordering of his church life. In all questions of worldly amusement the church has no voice. A *laisser faire* attitude has been charged against it and it has been called the most worldly of all Protestant churches. This may be unjust. But it is at least in somewhat striking contrast with the church authority that lays injunction upon the scrupulous observance of ecclesiastical duties.

The influence of the ascetic element in Methodism has lingered about its preaching. The legal note has been prominent and it is the provincial note. As an influence in the interest of ecclesiastical efficiency, it may have something to say for itself, but as an educative influence and a foster source of spiritual freedom and power, it has proved ineffective.

2. Bishop Simpson has attributed the rapid progress of Methodism in the United States to three causes: the adaptation of its teachings to the moral and spiritual needs of men, the effectiveness of its organization, and the zeal and consecration of its adherents.[1] As to the significance of these sources of power there can be no question. Its doctrines of grace and of human responsibility have been prominent influences in emancipating the Puritan churches from the tyranny of Calvinism and in opening a broader, freer, and richer Christian life. Its strongly centralized government, an apparent necessity of the exigencies of its early history, whatever its limitations in the education and training of individual manhood and womanhood within the sphere of evangelical freedom, has been singularly successful in the management of large and

[1] "A Hundred Years of Methodism," Ch. XIX.

complicated ecclesiastical interests. The enthusiastic devotion of its constituency to the cause of religion and morality within its own borders and its sympathy with all worthy efforts from without to promote the public welfare are universally recognized. But there is one agency of which this great and good bishop was himself an illustrious exemplification, and of which he was of course not at all ignorant, but of which, in his modest shrinking from glorying in men, he makes no mention. I mean the skill of its leaders and especially the power of its great preachers. The presence of a transcendent spiritual force in the personal lives of its adherents, in the conduct of its teachers and leaders, and in the prophetic utterances of its preachers is of course to be recognized. But there were human elements in this great leadership and there were human conditions of power. What was merely human, of course, would not have availed. But the world knows that its leading men were peculiarly adapted to the work they had in hand. Like the leaders of the apostolic churches, these men had the charisms of the Spirit. But their gifts for leadership were also gifts of nature, and they were trained gifts too. They were the natural leaders of their people, and their leadership was won by the process of natural selection not less than by the gifts of grace and of Providence. A succession of strong men, men self-trained in part, but trained also in the rigorous school of life, trained in the battle which they waged against the forces of evil, men with great gifts for leadership, have led and have honored the Methodist church. They have especially been men who had in an exceptional degree the power to reach the hearts and consciences of those under whose leadership Providence had placed them, and to win them to the service of Christ. The nation owes them a debt of gratitude which should not fail of recognition. We stand here at the border of a field that solicits the interest and the

research of enterprising men, and which has not been adequately explored. A study of the sources of power in the preaching of the Methodist church, a power that has touched the pulpit of every Protestant communion in the land, were a worthy task and might well engage us. But this is not the time nor place. The preaching of these men was of the artless type. It was the witness-bearing utterance, the utterance of strong feeling and strong conviction, that mightily swayed the souls of men. It was especially adapted to the needs of a particular class. There were classes whom it did not reach. In its early form it would fail to-day with any class. But its elements of power abide and it only needs the transforming touch of time and of the eternal Spirit which is the same "yesterday, to-day, and forever." Its reality has been its prominent note. As such it has the human elements and conditions of power. If it had lacked these human elements and conditions of effectiveness it never could have become a charism of the Spirit in adjusting itself to the needs of men's souls. There were gifts of nature in it, and these gifts were trained. It was nature inspired and consecrated. It was an artless speech that was at once a gift of nature and a gift of grace. Summerfield, the youthful Englishman, whose brief but brilliant career was among the wonders of his day, was one of these gifts of Providence to the Methodist church, and the tradition of his power has become in some sort a cherished possession of all the American churches. "Seraphic eloquence," "an enchanting speaker," "brilliant and pathetic," "a genius for eloquence," "a soul wrapt in the power of his theme, thrilling and swaying and melting into tears whole masses of almost breathless auditors" — — these and the like are terms used by men who are not ignorant of the meaning of words that characterize the impression which he made. He was peer of the great political orators of his day, of whom there were many —

far more, not only relatively but absolutely, than can be found in our day. Like many another in the Methodist church he began to preach before he was twenty years old. At the age of twenty-four he had won a place in evangelism surpassed by no preacher in the land, and at twenty-five his course was run. He had the gifts that English Methodism knows how to evoke, and the early culture of a Moravian school was also his. He passed his early days among business men and had the training and the experience of a business man. He had plunged into a life of youthful dissipation and was won by a power that searched him to the depths of his soul. He preached in Dublin and won the Irish heart by the pathos of his speech. It was the layman's speech and product of the layman's habit of mind, nonprofessional, simple, direct, forceful, powerful in emotion, concrete, illustrative, vivid, dramatic, unartistic like the speech of John B. Gough, not the trained speech of the church official. But let us not imagine that this gift was an untrained gift. No man, however gifted, ever becomes a great public speaker without the training of his powers. In England and in Ireland he heard the best public speakers of his day, and contemporary with him in his adopted country were many who had won the public ear and were widely known as orators. He knew his art, though he spake as one unconscious of it. He was a productive preacher, and although his career was short he left behind hundreds of discourses. Those that have been published are in fragmentary form, some of them mere outlines, and can convey no adequate impression of his power. Like most evangelistic sermons, they have but little permanent value as they appear on the printed page. But they surpass the discourses of Whitefield in their suggestion of homiletic skill, and are of more permanent value to the student of homiletics. The marks of the preacher's passionate intensity may be found in their exclamatory

utterances, in their brief catch words about which thought and feeling centre, and in the final appeal which never fails. But they are wholly inadequate to reveal the rhetorician and the orator. They are interesting in their methodical and logical order and are forcible in their climacteric movement. In the range and variety of the thoughts suggested, in the fulness of their development as indicated by their outlines, and in the unexpected applications of the truth, they should not fail even to-day to interest the enterprising student of evangelistic preaching.

To this same class of highly impassioned and impressional preachers belonged Dr. John P. Durbin, a contemporary of Summerfield, but two years his junior, and with a reputation already won and established in his own ecclesiastical circle at the time of Summerfield's death in 1825. He is not without significance in the educational movements of his church, which began to take more definite shape and to broaden their reach at the beginning of the last century, and in the elevation of the intellectual standards of its pulpit. Preëminently an advocate, he was not, however, without the gifts of the pulpit teacher. His education, laboriously acquired after his entrance, at the age of eighteen, upon his ministerial work, was, after its kind and according to the standards of the time, thorough and comprehensive and sufficient to place him in a position of prominence among the educated preachers of the church. At the age of twenty-five he was appointed professor of languages in the first college founded by the American Methodist church, and the variety of his scholarly acquisitions may be inferred from the fact that six years later he was appointed to the professorship of natural science at Wesleyan University. For the period of eleven years he was subsequently president of Dickinson College. As college professor, president, and at one time ecclesiastical journalist, he made himself felt in educational interests. As secretary of the Church Missionary Society,

in which position he closed his career, he found scope for his administrative gifts, which the ecclesiastical system of the Methodist church so fully cultivates, and which, had he chosen, might have found a sphere in the bishopric. But from first to last he was a preacher. Into every sphere of duty he carried his characteristic power, and his wide reputation rested chiefly upon his preaching gifts. He was eleven years the senior of Bishop Simpson, and the two men have been estimated as the greatest pulpit orators in the church of their day. He was a natural orator. His birthplace and early home was in the south and he may have inherited the southern gift for eloquent speech. But it was a cultivated gift. He belonged to no school and all his methods of training were free and such as appealed to his own sense of reality. But he was careful not to neglect the gift that was in him.

The didactic element was more prominent in his preaching than in that of most of the Methodist preachers of his day, and although evangelistic in substance, tone, and aim, designed to produce a sense of the need of redemption, to present Christ as Saviour, and to win to personal allegiance, it did not lack the expository element and aimed as well at the edification of the church. His method has the orderly quality of the instructive and edifying preacher and demonstrates that to secure clearness of apprehension on the part of the hearer was his first aim. But there were limitations in his expository method and he was characteristically a highly emotional and rhetorically impressive preacher, and was thus known. His power over his hearers, which was frequently sufficient to bring them to their feet and to liberate their vocal organs in shouts of applause, was due in part to sudden spasmodic and ejaculatory utterances for which they were not looking and which came as a surprise. But the dramatic element in the discourse was always well based and always found a rational justification. He was at one

time chaplain of the United States Senate and listened eagerly to the oratory of Webster, Calhoun, and Clay. Such influences must have stirred within him the native oratorical impulse, and all the traditions of his career are proof that he carefully studied his art. He had apparently appropriated Augustine's law of public speech, which is, in fact, only a reproduction of the law of the classical rhetorician. It demands that the speaker begin with a plain and simple style, which indicates self-poise and a reflective attitude of mind and would adjust itself to the hearer's intelligence, that he advance to a more stirring but medium style, which may secure an emotional interest in the discussion and rivet attention, and that it close with a lofty or impassioned style that shall compel the will. This was Dr. Durbin's method, and it is probable that he was familiar with the rationale of the theory. As a rhetorician he kept in hand all these elements, and in their order, and the orator followed the method of the rhetorician. At the beginning of his discourse his voice was pitched low and maintained the conversational tone, and his manner was deliberate. But the tone changed pitch and increased in vocal quantity as he advanced, while, of course, all his physical movements became more animated, and the close of the discourse never failed in rhetorical and oratorical climax. Not the native speaking gifts alone of its preachers must be considered in accounting for the power of the Methodist church with the people, but the attention given by its leaders to the problem of effective public speaking, rhetorically and oratorically, from the time of Wesley, who in his efforts to guide his preachers laid much emphasis upon its importance, and on into the beginning of the last century.

The sermon published in "Pulpit Eloquence of the Nineteenth Century," on the omnipresence of God, can hardly convey an adequate impression of what was most characteristic in Dr. Durbin's preaching. The rhetoric of his day

is not so acceptable, nor is it represented so easily in printed form, as that of our own day, and its oratory slips through the hands of the printer. The didactic portion of the sermon is clear and discriminating, but is not at all striking because its thought is obvious and common. The introduction fails somewhat in pertinence and is of a composite and complex character and does not put us in possession of the subject advantageously. The opening negative topic that discusses men's natural tendency to shut God out of his world is not important to the discussion of the positive truth and adds nothing to its value. But when the preacher reaches the applicatory part of the sermon we begin to feel his power. The success of the sermon is in the force with which he drives home to the consciences of his hearers the thought of the searching ubiquity of God.

Bishop Simpson was the successor of Dr. Durbin in the impressional type of preaching in which they were alike distinguished. Their general homiletic methods were similar. Their intellectual endowments were not unlike. Both had the tastes and the aspirations of men who saw that godliness and culture are not natural enemies. They wrestled hard for their education and such as was possible in their day they won. Both were committed to the intellectual elevation of the church and of its pulpit. As college professors and presidents, and as editors, as well as in the service of the pulpit, they both did a needed educational work for their church, and in all their efforts they never forgot the spiritual interests of the people, nor the special mission to which their church was called. But the bishop was on the whole the larger moulded man and reached a higher measure of power. He was the great preacher of his church in the last century.

In his case also the published products fail to give a full impression of his greatness as a preacher. It is the fate of the evangelistic preacher that his gifts leave no

adequate trace behind, save in the souls they have touched. But such discourses as we have must be our basis of estimate.

In looking at the subject-matter of Bishop Simpson's preaching, our attention is at once arrested by a certain largeness of range, and in its broad sweep it is interesting and impressive. It gives one the impression of a man who deals easily with large themes and who domesticates large thoughts. It is not depth or subtlety of thought. It is not novelty, freshness, or suggestiveness, but size and range. His illustrations have a corresponding largeness. Astronomy, which in professorial days he may have taught, is one of his most fruitful sources of illustration. The stately, majestic movements of nature in general strongly impressed him. Military movements are tributary to his impressionable imagination. His most eloquent passages touch upon scenes that give a broad sweep for his fancy, like the passage of a soul in its flight to the heavenly world. The element of majesty in his rhetorical style is thus promoted. He was a student of history and had a fondness for dealing with the evidences of divine Providence therein. Providence, as seen in human history, was in fact with him as with the preachers of the Methodist church in general of a past generation a favorite theme. In his Christian apologetics he inclined strongly to the historic argument. He has much to say about God's grand designs and about the necessity of working in line with them and thus realizing one's destiny. In the appointments of our earthly life, as, for example, in the birthplace, the early home, and in the sphere of early education, we see the hand of God. He saw the providences of his own life and liked to recount them. Others regarded him in early years as a man of destiny, and there is no evidence that his Arminian theology interposed any objection to the conception. "God's Reign on Earth" is one of his characteristic discourses. It opens in a broad

way. It directs attention to the double movement of history, the progressive and the retrogressive. In each there appears at once the infinite mind. By contrast man also in his littleness appears. In a large, stately, and impressive way the Psalmist's thought in his text is made to pass expansively before us. The theme is big. The discussion moves along a broad track. In the magnitudes and not less in the minutenesses of the universe we are given to see the presence of the great controlling mind. And as he enters the fields of history and threads its intricate paths, we have the same broad, free movement as in a territory that solicits great emotions and great imaginings. This suggestion of largeness is impressive, and the free method of delivery must have intensified the impressiveness. Most of the sermons in the volume have this suggestion of largeness. They touch the great things of God. A glance at the titles suggests a man who is accustomed to deal with the great compelling realities of redemptive religion. They were probably occasional sermons that were frequently repeated and that grew in the process. Their dimensions may in part be thus accounted for. The range of choice in the themes is not large. He concentrates upon what is chief and central, but he is led wide rangingly. In the development of the individual sermon he seems to be on familiar ground. He had often been that way, and in his broad sweep he never involves himself in intricacies or subtleties of thought. There was, therefore, the suggestion of ease about it all, the ease of familiarity. There is a corresponding clearness of method. Thought in its largeness of outline comes before us. All is apprehensible and intelligible even to the uninstructed mind. This is not a matter of literary style. It belongs to the substance and the relations of thought. It illustrates the fact that concrete, clearly related thought in outline is tributary to rhetorical perspicuity. About the discussion there may linger a certain suggestion of inadequacy.

It is rather too large. The generalizations are too big. One may feel a lack of critical acumen. One suspects that in such wide-ranging movement much that is important has dropped out and is lost sight of. There is also at times a suggestion of remoteness, we are taken too far afield. We are always somewhere in God's great and good universe and it is always our Father's house, but we sometimes find ourselves too far from our own doors. The preacher does not always come near enough to our common life. It is not always opened and interpreted. The preacher likes to deal with the divine rather than with the human aspect of things, and with the exceptional rather than with the common experiences. Hence sometimes the suggestion of unsatisfactoriness. There are every day experiences that he does not touch. The occasional character of the sermons may account for this in part. But all this is exceptional. His great and tender emotional nature, his large, human sympathies, generally force his great themes out into relation with our life at definite touching points and then there is a great uplift. A great theme charged with great emotions is brought to bear upon us with tremendous vigor. It storms the heart. In his delineations, for example, of the glories of the heavenly life, in his descriptions of the experiences of the dying, his reminders of the supporting power of Christ in hours of suffering, in his illustrations of the power of the Holy Spirit in Christian experience, in his descriptions of the sufferings of Christ and of the glory of the cross, we find the home-speaking quality. With such themes he was familiar. Here all his power of eloquence emerged, and with perfect poise he could hold himself in the highest heights which it is given human speech to reach. To know the power of such themes, to evoke the preacher's emotional and imaginative gifts, and to move the human heart, we must return to the men of a generation gone. Bishop Simpson comes near

to us in scenes that evoke his pathos. Domestic scenes, the death scene, the mother love, the pitiful estate of the widow and the orphan — these are among the sources of pathos which we miss in the preaching of our day, or if they are touched we miss the master's skill.

As to the architecture of the sermon it is in its technique after the most approved standard. The introduction is short, explanatory in character, or a generalized thought started by the theme and running on to the exposition of the text. By frequent repetition the text is kept constantly before the mind. The transitions are skilful and are promotive of the freedom and flow of the discourse. The development is methodical and never stereotyped. Variety in the formularies of transition takes the place of numerical division. He is a topical preacher, with a preference for the textual development.

The personality of Bishop Simpson was commanding. His presence was impressive. His voice was sympathetic and penetrating. The sincerity, the seriousness, the dignity of the man, his power of emotion and of sympathy, and his strength of moral purpose, — all were tributary to the sometimes overwhelming cogency and persuasiveness of his speech. His rhetorical style had steadiness of movement, stateliness, strength, clearness, simplicity, and dignity. He was master in the use of a type of figurative language with which the modern rhetorician is not at home. In the descriptive and narrative style he excelled and in the speech of pathos and passion he was irresistible. We are often reminded of Wesley as we read his discourses. Mr. Wesley was the more cogent in the intellectual elements of power, Bishop Simpson in the imaginative and emotional. But the men were not unlike. It is said that all great religious revolutions foster clearness, simplicity, and directness of style. Wesley's revolution illustrated this. Bishop Simpson's Yale Lectures on Preaching are of special value in giving us an insight

into the sources of his pulpit power, in their exaltation of the great themes of the Gospel as containing the only adequate message for the preacher, in their effective advocacy of the evangelistic type of preaching, and in their many judicious hints with respect to the preacher's work of preparation.

In his inaugural address as college president, when he was but twenty-nine years of age, we find an early indication of his tendency to grapple with the broad outlines of his subjects, of which mention has been made, and of the maturity and the comprehensiveness of his views upon educational problems. In the address at the memorial meeting in London in recognition of the death of President Garfield we have an illustration of his power to grasp the elements of a dramatic situation and of the instinct and skill of the platform orator in swaying the emotions and sympathies of a vast congregation. His address in connection with the funeral obsequies of President Lincoln at Springfield, Ill., three weeks after the assassination, is a masterpiece of its kind. He illustrates the "touch of nature that makes the whole world kin." It is said of him that "the human interests of every occasion was instantly perceived by him." This is certainly true of this impressive address. It touches upon the scenes, the experiences, the associations, the events, that are of common human interest and that bring and bind the hearts of men together. In its orderly movement to a climax it has the quality of the old classical oration, and in its descriptive skill, not only as touching outward scenes, but inner states of soul as well, and in its elements of pathos, it is after the best manner of modern oratory.

More significant for intellectual elevation in the leadership of the church, and less significant in the sphere of popular oratory, was Dr. John McClintock, accounted in his day the most accomplished scholar of his church. The leading representatives of Methodism have been called

in the course of their public life to fill a great variety of official positions and have developed a great variety of aptitudes in the service of the church. Positions of influence are always at its command and it has exercised a great deal of wisdom in its choice of men to fill them. Dr. McClintock's experience in the service of his church was, like so many of its leading men, wide and varied, and he was able to exert a correspondingly wide and varied and always salutary influence. As college professor he became an authority in methods of teaching the classical languages. As the first president of Drew Theological Seminary he made himself known and felt as a theological teacher. He varied his educational activities by entering the field of religious journalism as editorial correspondent, while in residence abroad, of one of the weekly journals of the church and again as editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*. In literature he is known as the author of a critique of Comte's "Philosophy," as translator of Neander's "Life of Christ" and other volumes of general theological and political interest, and as the author of various monographs touching subjects of more especial interest to his church. His crowning work was the editorship with Dr. Strong of the Theological Cyclopædia, which is a distinct credit, not only to his own scholarship and editorial wisdom, but to the intellectual life of the Methodist church. But all these varied gifts, acquisitions, and experiences in church life were not without value to his work as a preacher, which is never held as of secondary importance by his communion. As pastor in New York City and of the American Chapel in Paris, a position that has been filled by some of the most gifted American preachers, and where he was able to do valuable service for the government of the United States during the Civil War, he had fruitful experiences in ministerial life, and has been numbered, if not among the most popularly effective, among the most weighty and instruc-

tive, gracefully cultivated, and graciously winsome preachers of his church. "Living Words" is a published collection of his discourses, which in their elevation of thought and of diction abundantly vindicate his reputation for scholarly culture and mark a distinct advance in the homiletic ideals of Methodism.

The press has held an important place among the educational agencies of Methodism, and the ablest men of the church have been placed in its editorial corps. The succession from men like Durbin, Simpson, and McClintock is unbroken. Men of mark still hold these high positions of trust and of influence. Under the editorship of the Rev. Dr. William V. Kelley, the Methodist *Review* holds rank among the best theological periodicals of the country. Dr. Kelley belongs to a group of men in his church who have wrought fruitfully in the field of literature. As pastor of important churches for many years, these literary gifts found homiletic scope, and as an acceptable lecturer in academic and theological institutions they have appeared in more specific literary form.

Dr. Buckley, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, has exhibited extraordinary aptitude for clear and forceful editorial writing, and is not less gifted as a vigorous and impressive preacher and a skilful and pungent platform orator. His critical bent is strong, and his power of sarcasm and skill in repartee are productive of telling popular effects. His analytic method of dealing with vexed questions, which too often lacks in constructive quality, is signally trenchant and often conclusive. In detecting and disclosing the weak side in popular fallacies and delusions and in pointing out their injurious mental and moral consequences he is skilful and useful. His power to grasp the underlying truth that would find expression in many of the delusions of our time and to interpret its fundamental significance does not seem to be equally great. The permanent value of his critical

products is lessened by his controversial and polemical habit. He is powerful and useful as a detective. He is less valuable as an interpreter of truth.

The contemporary bishops of the Methodist church worthily perpetuate its homiletic traditions, and are a distinct credit to its pulpit. Highly efficient as administrative leaders, their influence, as always, is largely conditioned by their power to impress the people.

Bishop McCabe, who by his record as an army chaplain during the Civil War, and as a vigorous, plain-speaking patriot and reformer, has won a country-wide reputation, would be classed as among the most popular and forceful as he is among the most fearless preachers, platform orators, and lecturers in the official body to which he belongs and in the entire church.

Bishop Vincent, who is widely known for his intelligent interest in and steadfast devotion to the work of Sunday-school instruction, and for his enthusiastic enterprise and efficiency in popularizing the agencies of general education through the Chautauqua Institute, is universally respected for his cosmopolitan and catholic spirit, and is welcomed to the pulpits of all the churches and the colleges of the country as a broad-minded and edifying preacher.

Bishop Foss, in his collection of discourses entitled "Religious Certainties," one of a series of twenty-four volumes constituting "The Methodist Pulpit" illustrative of the preaching of Methodism, bears the mark of an apologetic preacher of the modern type. One finds here solidity of thought, cogency of argument, skill in historic illustration, wealth of Christian feeling, devotion to the great commanding truths of Christianity, wide knowledge of the world, and a vivacious rhetoric. His type of rhetoric in certain notable passages bears the traditional mark of the evangelistic preaching of his church, and the sensitive critic might not accept a brief in defence of its classical chasteness or its conformity to the highest standards of

literary taste in our time. But it does not lack in elevation of feeling and tone, and in its picturesque and dramatic impressiveness it doubtless does not fail of popular response.

Bishop McDowell impresses one with the breadth, strength, and dignity of his pulpit utterances, and with the entire absence of the ecclesiastical tone. There is nothing in his speech that advertises his ecclesiastical affiliations or his ecclesiastical nurture and culture. His effort to conserve in modern forms of thought and statement the vital substance of the old truths for which the church has contended is manifest and is successful. Stock terms and standard definitions are discarded. The truth is brought to bear directly upon men's practical needs. The reality of the divine immanence in humanity and especially in the church does duty in his hands in interpreting the church doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Biblical revelation cannot supersede the necessity of an immediate present revelation of God in the soul, nor Biblical inspiration supersede the demand for inspired men rather than inspired doctrines in our day.

The discriminating character of Bishop McDowell's thought and the deliberation and self-poise of his address are qualities that linger in the remembrance of his hearers. Few preachers that address the student bodies of the country are equal to him in strength, dignity, clearness, and seriousness of tone.

One would fail worthily to recognize the significance of the Methodist pulpit who should forget the many preachers, whether in prominent or obscure parishes, who without ambition for fame, and without high official trusts, are doing the full work of responsible men in an untoward age and are perpetuating the best traditions of a noble church. Their names need not be heralded. Their works will follow them. Nor should one fail gratefully to acknowledge the contribution this church has made

to other communions, not only in the influence it has exerted upon the character of their preaching, but in the gifts of its own sons to the service of these communions. Training in the effective type of pulpit speech to which the Methodist church is heir, combined with the best intellectual and spiritual culture of our day, has yielded a product that is unsurpassed in the pulpit work of the age. Nor can one part company with his theme, nor dismiss from remembrance the associations into which he has been brought in wide-ranging circles, without one final word of honor for the multitudes of noble men in all the communions of Protestant Christendom, who, in obscurity, and with none to herald their names, for the love of humanity and the kingdom of God, are proclaiming the great truths of religion to a restless, unsatisfied, and needy generation.

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